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TEACHERS AND NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA

BY

RICHARD RWAGALLA AKANKWASA ©

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UGANDA

UNIVERSITY OF ALBERTA

FACULTY OF GRADUATE STUDIES AND RESEARCH

The undersigned certify that they have read, and recommended to the Faculty of Graduate Studies and Research for acceptance, a thesis entitled **Teachers and National Development in Uganda** submitted by **Richard Rwagalla Akankwasa** in partial fulfillment of the requirements for the degree of Doctor of Philosophy in International Education/Intercultural Education.

Dr. S.H. Toh - Supervisor

Marilyn D Assheton-Smith
Dr. M. Assheton-Smith

Olenka Bilash
Dr. O. Bilash

Sue M. Scott
Dr. S. Scott

Fred Judson
Dr. F. Judson

Dr. A. Hickling-Hudson - External Examiner

Date: 31/1/97

Dedicated to

My late grandmother Jureina Nkwarare and my late mother V.J. Bekweise for bequeathing me with the will and tools of learning; and to my beloved daughter Rakeri Jureina Akankwasa who is a victim of dependent development that disabled her to the extent that she will never critique nor continue the project herein.

ABSTRACT

This study investigated the role of teachers in national development in Uganda. The thrust of the study was to establish through teachers' voices, experiences, as the primary respondents, their professional identity in relation to their perceived and actual contribution to the realization of national development policies based on principles of social justice, cultural solidarity, relevance, democratic participation and environmental sustainability in Uganda. In doing so, the study sought to gain original understanding of the contemporary realities experienced or conceived by teachers, and explore how and why these realities could be influencing their contribution positively and/or negatively to the realization of Uganda's national development policies.

Teachers in Ugandan secondary schools were provided spaces to voice their views through narratives. Views from teacher educators and policy makers provided supplementary information. Focus group interviews, in-depth interviews, participant observations, and documents analysis were methods employed in the study. The obtained data were analyzed qualitatively and in relation to the theoretical framework that was informed by the critical alternative paradigm and critical pedagogy, on one hand, and the lived reality in the Ugandan context.

Findings revealed that the majority of the participants' views were predominantly slanted towards the modernization paradigm. Teachers pedagogical inclinations were inimical to the transformative critical pedagogy which would have enabled them to contribute more meaningfully to prepare a generation of future citizens imbued with attitudes, values, beliefs and practices relevant and appropriate for building a more just, equitable and humane society. The primary participants, who were teachers, attributed their deficiency in values of compassion for the poor to teacher education and the education system as a whole. During their socialization, they were exposed to values that

were in contradiction with attitudes and practices oriented to people-centered development.

In view of the findings of the study, for this prolonged miseducation to be re-oriented, a more critical/transformative teacher education program and pedagogical orientations informed by the PEACE paradigm needs to be considered as a point of departure. Only then will teachers begin to re-examine their practices and beliefs and attitudes they have held for so long; and that is when hope for a society based on principles of participation, equality, appropriate and relevant skills, conscientazation, and environmental awareness will be valued and practiced for a sustainable future. However, this, in itself is not adequate to remedy a systemic situation without other societal structures, which influence the education system, joining the struggle to achieve a holistic transformation. The interconnectedness of all aspects of life in society therefore needs to be appealed to so as to challenge the compartmentalization of society and the persuit of a disoriented development.

In conclusion, the study posits that an authentic people-centred national development in Uganda needs a teacher who is a transformative organic intellectual, whose preparation is based on teacher education programs that reflect values, beliefs, attitudes and practices that are consistent with the critical alternative transformative pedagogical strategies. Then a generation of future adults will be prepared by transformed teachers, school administrators and social economic and political structures that are presently absorbed with possessive individualism which has impoverished and dispossessed the majority population, and left the environment bankrupt. The role of a teacher is crucial. Nevertheless, the magnitude of the task of preparing citizens calls for concerted efforts and genuine participation of members of society guided by principles of justice, equality and dignity of all human beings.

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LIST OF ACRONYMS

CBR	Center for Basic Research.
DP	Democratic Party.
EPRC	Educational Policy Review Commission.
INSSTEP	In-Service Secondary Teacher Education Project.
MOS	Ministry of Education and Sports.
NCDC	National Curriculum Development Center. .
NGO	Non-Governmental Organizations.
NIC	Newly Industrialized Countries.
NRA	National Resistance Army.
NRC	National Resistance Council.
NRM	National Resistance Movement.
NTC	National Teachers' College.
OAU	Organization of African Unity.
PEACE	Peace, Equality, Appropriate, Conscientization, Environment.
PGDE	Post Graduate Diploma in Education.
PLE	Primary Leaving Education.
PTA	Parents Teachers' Association.
RC	Resistance Council.
SAPs	Structural Adjustment Policies.
TDMS	Teacher Development and Management System.
TTC	Teacher Training College or Primary Teachers College (PTC).
UNDP	United Nations Development Program.
UNESCO	United Nations Educational Scientific and Cultural Organization.
UNEB	Uganda National Examinations Board.
UPC	Uganda Peoples' Congress.
URA	Uganda Revenue Authority.
USAID	United States Association for International Development.
UTA	Uganda Teachers Association.

CHAPTER 1

INTRODUCTION

1.1. Introduction

Uganda is a small landlocked country, formerly colonized by Britain since 1894 until 1962. The word Uganda is a Kiswahili term for the entire country. The country covers an area of 94,000 square miles (194,044 square kilometers) and is intimately connected with Kenya and Tanzania as they are commonly referred to as the three East African countries. According to the 1991 census, the population of Uganda had grown to 16,671,705. Uganda's population is largely rural, with almost 90 per cent of the people residing in the country-side. The settlement patterns have been influenced both by natural and man-made factors. Apart from "climate, vegetation, water supply, terrain, soil fertility and disease agents" the advent of agents of "civilization" and "development" set a precedent that explain the imbalances in the development process of the country, slanted in favor of urban areas. Available statistics show that 11.3 per cent of the population is urban (Ministry of Finance and Economic Planning, 1992).

The country was divided by colonialists into administrative regions and districts more or less along tribal lines which are still embedded in the administrative structures. The district councils were "tribal" councils whose main exertions concerned matters affecting their respective communities - an equivalent of the current trend of decentralization in the present globalization era. The British Protectorate treated each unit of local government (the district) as if it was an independent entity (Karugire, 1980; Sathyamurthy, 1986). The reluctance to nurture the growth of territorial or national organs of government and the promotion of parochial ones did not seem accidental on the part of the colonial administration (Karugire, 1980). The colonial administration took official policy measures which stifled mechanisms that could have fostered a territory-wide outlook. For instance, as early as 1898, a suggestion to establish a central council for Uganda was undermined by the protectorate government and a proposal from the rulers of Uganda's kingdoms and Busoga to allow them to hold regular meetings was vetoed by the governor in 1925 (Ibingira, 1973). Burke (1964: 14) corroborates this view:

> The establishment of districts based wherever possible on tribal residence has contributed to a sense of district nationalism and separatism that in many cases did not exist prior to the arrival of the British.

Apart from this divisive administrative structure, separatism in Uganda was enhanced by the incorporation of the country into the dependent world political economy. The coming of colonial rule brought in its train of manufactured goods the hoe which was much cheaper to produce on a large scale in Britain. This drove the local smith out of business by the new commodities which looked "better" while African values were declared "primitive" and "superstitious" by missionaries. Contrary to the view that there was no meaningful interaction among the various tribal communities prior to the advent of the whites on the African continent to distribute their civilization, colonialism and its attendant Christian and commercial adventurers undermined potential unifying factors as Karugire (1980) has acidly stated thus:

> ... a Muganda did not need to travel to Bunyoro to purchase a hoe or the Munyoro to travel to Busoga to sell one - each one of these could get a "better" hoe at the local Indian shop and at a cheaper price too. Thus the primary stimulus which had brought several communities together in the past were removed and this in turn promoted in turn the growth of ethnic and insular nationalism because for nearly sixty years no Uganda ethnic group needed its neighbor for anything. ... the consolidation of the protectorate really meant the coalescence of British rule and the differentiation or separation of the African communities. This differentiation was fundamental despite the fact that it looked subtler and sometimes in imperceptible terms (p.128-9).

The population of Uganda also included Asians until 1972. Although they were a minority group numerically, the Asian community dominated the economic life of Uganda before Amin decided to expel them in 1972. The expulsion of the Asians has been viewed as a racist-based and fascist solution to the Asian problem following the military coup of Idi Amin in 1971 (Mamdani,1976). However, the social relations in which the colonialists had placed the Asians and Africans created asymmetrical relations of exploitation slanted in favor of the Asians, a privileged group with much to defend, and whose interests were tied up with capital and the extension of capitalism rather than a category whose existence served merely the labor needs of Western capital (Wallerstein, 1989; Allen and Thomas, 1992). This created an additional problem to national unity and integration in the social and economic structures as is evident in attitudes and views such as those that were explicitly held by Asians like Yash Ghai (1965):

> If the African got less wages than the Asian, if he had to live with the whole family in one room, if he had to walk miles or lift heavy weights, the Asian conscience was untroubled because the African was different, he was inferior; he was used to these things; he did not want and certainly would not know what to do with modern conveniences and gadgets. It was because now the same African, who they think has low intelligence and no

> experience, is in control of government, that the Asian has tremendous problems of reconciling himself to the new order. It is one thing to accept the rule of a superior race, indeed, one tries even to imitate them, but how humiliating to be bossed around by members of an inferior race! (Yash Ghai in Ghai, 1965, p.133, quoted in Bujra, 1992, p.354-5).

Racism and ethnicity continue to be instrumental to capitalism as social categories which are defined and redefined in the search for exploitable labor power and which undermines the solidarity of nationalism and civil community, not only in Uganda but also in many Third World nations. To date, Uganda has not made any significant strides in consolidating her independence in terms of national unity and integration, economic, cultural and technological advancement. As it has been observed in the National Resistance Movement (NRM) Ten Point Program:

> A hundred years ago we controlled our own technological development. Now we are dependent on foreigners for the making of even safety or drawing pins. It is a shame and unpardonable crime for African leaders to accept this situation (NRM Ten Point Program, No date. p. 23).

The education industry has been viewed as the answer to reverse this trend of development. But whether the structures that sustain such dependence in education and other sectors are receiving attention oriented to a holistic transformation remains questionable. The nature of the crisis and how best it should be tackled are challenges to national development.

One way to gain understanding of the educational development in a country like Uganda calls for scrutinizing the interconnections that exist within the realities of the curriculum, pedagogy, and organizational structures of educational institutions and the influence of the wider context in the political, social and economic realm both at national and global levels. The question posed more than thirty years ago which is still as crucial as it was before states:

> When over half the population is illiterate and the people clamour for education, when teachers are in short supply and inadequately trained, when government and industry demand trained recruits, when unemployment is widespread and increasing, when the nation is poor--what policy should the government pursue? (Government of Uganda, 1963).

This portrays the post-colonial scenario regarding the needs of the country and the envisaged role education should play in generating the necessary human capital to fulfill the promised dreams of modernization development. The generation of manpower for the newly independent nation to replace expatriates was viewed as a means of consolidating national independence - a task the education system was expected to fulfill (Obote, 1969).

This was one of the reasons that the colonial system of education was expanded, not transformed - to produce the needed policy makers and implementors.

1.2. Modernization and underdevelopment

Over the past 500 years, the metaphor of development as applied to societies, nations and the global context has been dominated by particular ideological orientations initially rooted in the emergence of capitalism and the colonial enterprise. The industrial mode of production, among many forms of social life, became the definition of the terminal stage of a unilinear way of social evolution. This form of development has generated the prevailing social polarization between and within countries. As Esteva (1993) noted:

> The campaign to turn traditional man into modern has failed. The old ways have been smashed, the new ways are not viable. People are caught up in the deadlock of development: the peasant who is dependent on buying seeds, yet finds no cash to do so; the mother who benefits neither from the care of her fellow women in the community nor from the assistance of a hospital; the clerk who had made it in the city, but is now laid off as a result of cost-cutting measures. They are all like refugees whom have been rejected and have no place to go. Shunned by the 'advanced' sector and cut off from the old ways, they are expatriates in their own country, they are forced to get by in the no-man's-land between tradition and modernity. (p.3)

The word development implies a favorable change, a step from the *simple* to the *complex*, from the *inferior* to the *superior*, from *worse* to *better*. In the post-colonial era, international, national and local forces and structures continued to participate in and endorse the dominant modernization paradigm in all aspects of development. In practice, modernization was the brain child of westernization. This paradigm rested on theories of people like Walt Rostow, who envisaged a gradual transition of Third World nations from tradition to modernity. It considered the development achieved by industrialized countries as ideal for South nations to emulate (Esteva, 1993; Foubert, 1982; Allahar,1994; Mazrui, 1978).

Uganda's cherished desire is to build an integrated self-sustaining economy. However, that requires progressive income redistribution and internally-oriented domestic resources, a shift from the colonial pattern of production of goods not consumed by Ugandans and the consumption of foreign goods. This Western model of development has continued to dominate the nation's economic, political and social structures. Surprisingly, the African peasant cultivator's, in their skepticism, attempted to resist producing for the world market when cotton was introduced in Uganda. This was interpreted as "laziness" and "indolence" by colonial administrators and planters who took it for granted that production for the world market was more rational than production for direct use and appropriation by the producer. The peasants did not see any reason why they should be forcefully diverted, with beatings and intimidation from the chiefs that were hired mercenaries and paid a commission by the colonialists, into growing cotton - a product which the peasant knew very well could not be eaten. A similar position was taken in Tanzania where peasants devised all sorts of tricks to sabotage colonial efforts to produce raw materials for export. People learnt a long time ago to boil cotton seeds to ensure they don't germinate as one of the tools of the weak to struggle and resist domination and exploitation (Mapolu, 1984). As if that was not enough exploitation, the chiefs followed the same peasant and took the money that was paid to the peasant as rent and taxes. The colonial regime not only took the cotton, but at the same time, the money it claimed to pay the peasant in form of taxes since the little that remained went to the Indian shop to replace the old imported Chillington hoe for cultivating more cotton for export.

Contrary to common rhetoric that colonialism was a redemption to African pre-colonial primitive society, Jorgensen (1981: 630) noted that:

> ... the new order brought negligible benefits to the average peasant between 1893 and 1922, beyond a few yards of imported cloth, an occasional blanket and the iron hoe. The sharp decrease in population that accompanied Uganda's integration into the capitalist world system was the most damning evidence of the cost of establishing the new order. Only through substantial use of force and coercion had the British administrators and collaborative chiefs attained political hegemony, established cotton production and expanded the transportation network.

In a confidential briefing to European colonial officials, Governor Mitchell after whom one of the Halls of residence of Makerere University in Uganda was named, described the real state of affairs as a consequence of meticulously executed impoverishment, exploitation and the subsequent prolitarianization of the peasants of East Africa in 1939 after almost 40 years of 'colonial civilization' and 'modernization' thus:

> If, resolutely shutting our minds to the effects of habit or the perhaps lingering romance of the primitive and picturesque, we look at ***modern*** East Africa as it really is, the picture is disturbing. Poverty is widespread and the people suffer from a great number of diseases, and generally from malnutrition as well. ... Employment for wages often means worse

> housing and food, while the wages themselves are low... Education is still rudimentary and inefficient except for the favored few, ... there is a terribly long way to go and in the meantime less than 5 per cent of the population attain the standard which is compulsory for every child in the United kingdom (Quoted in Brett, 1973: 99) [emphasis mine].

This condition, a direct consequence of the still continuing conquest of the poor in the name of globalization but which is actually dispossession of the masses on a world scale in the furtherance of the world system market economy, is said to have worsened further for the Ugandan peasant during World War II (Jorgensen, 1981). In his very combative language, Frank (1969: 9) declares:

> Underdevelopment is not due to the survival of archaic institutions and the existence of capital shortage in regions that have remained isolated from the main stream of world history. On the contrary, underdevelopment was and still is generated by the very historical process which also generated economic development: the development of capitalism itself.

Worth noting is the undemocratic colonial legacy that was unremittingly adapted by the colonial successors and has continued to characterize the method of work by most post-colonial regimes in the rehabilitation and reconstruction - not transformation of the colonial structures that sustain disguised slavery and slave trade of the peasantry who produce the raw materials for export in the name of specialization and comparative advantage (Chango Machyo, 1995; Chomsky, 1993: 3). As Rodney (1972) noted, a country's wealth comes not from taxes but from production - the people's soils and their labor which produce vast wealth. Yet, the majority of these peoples' children, all of various ages, continue to receive inferior or inappropriate and irrelevant education that leaves them frustrated, dehumanized and uprooted from their communities. After such education, they are considered as misfits both in the modern and traditional society, where they only learn to provide cheap, poorly remunerated labor at an early age and to blame themselves for their failure.

The central aim of the independent nation of Uganda's development policy was stated in the First Five-Year Plan (1962) as "to achieve the maximum possible increase in the prosperity and welfare of the people of Uganda and to provide equitable distribution of the wealth of the nation so as to ensure social and economic justice." In the Second Five-Year plan (1966), it was similarly stated that:

> i) Overall economic growth is not by itself an adequate objective. There must also be an equitable distribution of wealth and of services such as medical treatment, and there must be equality of opportunity, specially of educational opportunity.
> ii) The Second Five-Year Plan itself has therefore three main goals:-

a) Increased production and wealth
b) Diversification of production
c) Social and Economic Justice (Quoted in Gingyera-Pincycwa, 1978, p.39-40).

In as much as there were achievements registered by this regime, through the construction of some hospitals in various parts of the country and transportation to carry products from diverse parts of the country's hinterland, they only seemed to intensify pre-independence British welfarism and to reinforce and insulate capitalist modernization development. The legacy of the British imperial presence in Uganda, the general conservative nature of the country (especially Buganda as a central and most influential region) and religious influence contributed to undermine any possibilities of pursuing other alternative strategies of development that would have transformed the structures already entrenched in the pre-independence period (Gingyera-Pinycwa, 1978). What Baran (1957) discovered in the early '50s still is of relevant instruction to Third World nations like Uganda:

> The forces that have molded the fate of the backward world still exercise a powerful impact on the conditions prevailing at the present time. Their forms have changed, their intensities are different today; their origin and direction have remained unaltered (p.163).

Uganda has continued to be guided by the colonial pattern of externally oriented development planning, based on the external demands for raw materials on the world market (claiming that it is comparative advantage) and the domestic demands of the urban elites. The political and administrative cadres of past and present regimes continue to be part of the problem as elements in the structure of the "infrastructure of dependence", rather than instruments of progressive social change (Jorgensen, 1981: 214). Himbara and Sultan (1995: 90) have noted the worsening dependency of the Ugandan state and its tendency towards recolonization that:

> ... the Ugandan case is not just the reliance on donor funds but their administration as well. Given the extent of decline, and even the total disintegration of some elements of the Ugandan state apparatus, donor agencies became involved in what remained of the national administrative regime (Lateef 1992: 39). In the process, donor control has extended over the full range of policy making mechanisms, feasibility research, project implementation, and management of key elements of the Ugandan state apparatus. As acknowledged by the Ministry of Finance and Economic Development (Republic of Uganda, 1992, 1992a), most of the rehabilitation and developmental works are essentially planned and administered by donor expatriates. Interestingly enough, even the role of soliciting aid is no longer the responsibility of the Ugandan state. The World Bank appears to have taken over this role, ... One wonders what the role of the Ugandan

> government is in all this, after delegating even the minimum role of soliciting fund donations to the donors themselves (p.90).

International Financial Institutions (IFIs) work hand in hand with rulers and elites in the periphery in draining the poor countries through capital flights (George, 1987). Normally the arrangement is such that the bills are settled by the unfortunate masses on whom history has played a real dirty trick. The IMF and the World Bank ensure the legitimation and the acceptance of public responsibility for the debts however privately incurred or however fraudulently diverted. The debts are normally nationalized. The second strategy after nationalizing such private debts, in line with prevailing monetarist principles, is to de-nationalize the economies themselves (Hoogvelt,1990). This developmental, bureaucratic state is one of the real causes of Third World poverty and underdevelopment. As Chomsky (1993) has pointed out,

> ... *the South has been assigned a service role: to provide resources, cheap labor, markets, opportunities for investment and export of pollution. ...* Accordingly, the primary threat to U.S. interests is depicted in high-level planning documents as "radical and nationalistic regimes" that are responsive to popular pressures for immediate improvement in the low living standards of the masses" and for diversification of their economies, tendencies that conflict with the need to protect U.S. control of raw materials and "a political and economic climate conducive to private investment" (NSC 5432/1, 1954) [emphasis added] (p.3).

It is this capitalist insatiable greed for profit accumulation that has left the environment bankrupt as Third World poor people get more entrenched in debts that force them to deplete the environment for sheer survival. When they find themselves between two equally dangerous options - suicide and suicide, both the environment and the people suffer, not that they are per se illiterate about co-existing harmoniously with the environment as evidenced by the struggles of indigenous people to save the environment (Hickling-Hudson, 1994; Fien, 1986; Toh, 1987; Shoumatoff, 1990).

In agriculture, for example, foreign aid has been used to promote 'technical change' (such as the Green Revolution), but most donors, and certainly the large ones, have been unwilling to actively encourage land reforms in countries where the need is obvious (as in the Philippines) or even to assist the implementation of reforms in countries where they were introduced (Ethiopia, Nicaragua, Mozambique). This has left the majority hungry after the Green Revolution made them landless (Griffin, 1991; George, 1978; Payer, 1982; Gran, 1986; MacEwan, 1971; Amin, 1991).

1.3. Educational trends in post-independence era

Uganda has been, and still is, focusing on education as an imperative engine to drive development based on the modernization paradigm of the industrialized countries. Since 1962, when Uganda attained her political independence from Britain, colonial education was upheld and efforts were made to expand it as a means of improving the standard of living of the people. This was approached by diffusing the necessary knowledge, values, skills towards the accumulation of the badly needed expertise that would generate the lacking "human capital" for economic growth and industrialization. According to the dominant modernization paradigm, education would lead to unprecedented economic growth and national development (Watson, 1988; Simons, 1980; Lulat, 1988; Coombs, 1985; Shultz, 1961).

Viewing education as a panacea to political, economic, cultural, social, and population problems facing the country, political leaders expanded the formal educational system to meet the increased social, political and economic demands and expectations of the independent country (Bacchus, 1981; Jorgensen, 1981). The pressure for more education increased following the UNESCO conferences of Addis Ababa, Karachi, and Santiago which declared that education is a human right (UNESCO, 1961). It is also evident in the Jomtien conference on education for all how faith in education was still held to enhance the living conditions of the majority people in the world. Benefits envisaged as returns on investment in education were: increased education would facilitate a decline in population growth; it would eliminate "scientific indifference" inimical to the diffusion of modern attitudes necessary for development; and it would lead to greater equality of opportunity, political participation and national unity (Toh, 1987; Bacchus, 1981; Watson,1988). All these acted as an inspiration to politicians to expand education quantitatively in order to increase access. In "serious discussions of the nature of colonial education, educated Africans took the lead in insisting that the metropolitan model be retained" (Cowan, 1965). But dissent began to be voiced against the simple notion that a mere increase in educational provision would catapult these nations onto the Rostowian "take off" trajectory (Lulat, 1982). Rostow (1960) in his *Stages of Economic Growth* classified five unilinear stages that a 'backward' society must pass through in order to gain economic growth, namely, the traditional society stage; the preconditions for take off; the take off stage; the drive to maturity; and the age of high mass consumption.

To service the expanding educational systems, South nations such as Uganda clearly had to prepare more teachers who were and still are deemed the main agent to diffuse "modernization". However, the quality of the teaching profession since then has been and still is one of the major issues and problems that face the educational policy makers. Thus during the 1970s, in many rural places, class sizes grew to grotesque proportions, often with a poorly trained teacher trying to keep order, with few if any textbooks or other essential supplies and equipment to boost the teacher's productivity (Coombs, 1985). The questions concerning relevance, quality and justification for the curriculum programs, and the products of educational institutions of which teacher education is a major and instrumental component have remained unresolved (Bacchus, 1975; Jorgensen, 1981).

As early as the 1960s, the education Africa practiced was already criticized as being unpractical; "too bookish and too little adapted to African needs and tasks", and artificial with no proper connection to the intellectual and emotional lives of Africans. In sum, it was such a "rootless education" that demotivated and ill-equipped school-leavers for self-employment in villages because of its closely tied nature to the supply of administrators and white-collar workers (Saunders and Vullaimy, 1983; Nyerere, 1970). Evidence indicated that the education sector had not only failed to resolve but had exacerbated such problems as unemployment among school leavers, rural-to-urban migration of youth, lagging agricultural development, and the ever widening gap between urban elites and the rural masses (Lulat, 1982; Dore,1976).

Education in Uganda is associated with the efforts of mainly Christian missionaries. This education was mainly available to a small elite group while the masses largely remained illiterate. From 1925, government started exercising control over education by establishing a Directorate of Education. After independence, the guidelines for educational development were provided by the Castle Commission in 1963 which up to the present day still guide Uganda's education system (Government White Paper, 1992). After independence, Uganda's development strategy remained guided by the modernization paradigm as its ideological and philosophical orientation since the British Protectorate era. What this meant in terms of social economic development, as Gingyera-Pinycwa (1978) put it, was that:

> the country's perspective on development was geared mainly toward either *higher* or *more ambitious targets*, on the one hand, or *reform toward efficiency*, on the other, none of which affected the general direction or character of social economic change and development. In other words, ...

> such changes as were achieved differed from what the British themselves might have made had they been around in *degree* rather than in *kind* (p.35).

Hence Uganda did not introduce any qualitative changes that would alter conspicuously the values and the social economic configuration bequeathed by the departing colonial rulers. Education remained intact and the people who received it acquired values and attitudes that were indifferent towards work that would lead to people-centered development in society. In 1963, a Commission of Inquiry was appointed to examine the "content" and "structure of education in Uganda; to consider how it may best be improved and adapted to the needs of this country". The Commission considered the following aims for both primary and secondary education:

> a) To inculcate high standards of individual and corporate conduct and a sense of personal responsibility.
> b) To fit children for earning livelihood.
> c) To establish permanent literacy.
> d) To prepare children for living in their local and national communities and to develop in them a desire to serve both.
> e) To enable children to develop manual skills and to express their aesthetic gifts.
> f) To develop the initiative, confidence and resourcefulness of children and their powers of independent, logical and imaginative thought.
> We do not believe that aims (c), (e) and (f) are consciously and actively accepted by the general public or even by many teachers (Quoted in Gingyera-Pincycwa, 1978, p.36).

Three aims, that is, (c), (e) and (f) have not changed much since the British colonial days. In fact, overall, it is the output that shot up, but the character or the content, and hence the contribution of education to the society's value system, hardly changed at all since the British left. In 1969, Obote, then the political leader of Uganda since independence and whose government had been responsible for educational policy for several years, criticized education saying, "we have not moved very far from the results of educational investment which the British wanted to get when they introduced formal education in Uganda". To the present day, not much has fundamentally changed.

So far, Uganda's education industry has consistently displayed both inability and incompetence to generate the necessary human power for the development of the country in terms of relevance, appropriateness and attitudes. This has increased the country's vulnerability and dependency on economic handouts in the form of expertise and funds from the donors. The donor community has become an indispensable prime fulcrum in the education enterprise and other key institutions, whose absence would lead to the collapse of the majority of programs underway. According to Himbara and Sultan (1995):

> Financial dependency is compounded by the inability of domestic education institutions to create badly needed expertise. In a country of about 16 million people, the number of undergraduate students completing their degrees at Makerere University from such critical fields as Statistics and Applied Economics averaged only about 46 per year between 1988 and 1991. Even for student enrollment at Masters level, the role of donor agencies was critical. In the case of Statistics and Applied Economics, the Ugandan government, as usual, designated a donor agency to provide funds: 'a project proposal for a further three intakes of students (1993-1995) has been submitted to UNDP for funding' (Republic of Uganda, 1992: 251). This means not only that the increasing demands (at a time of major restructuring effort) for technical expertise cannot be met domestically, but also the enhancement of technical capacity can only be realized if international aid is directly involved. We are once again facing the near total recolonisation by the international forces we have alluded to earlier (p.91).

This scenario also extends to teacher education programs. Most of the projects and programs in progress in the education sector remain aid-driven not only in finance but personnel. For instance, the Teacher Development Management Project System (TDMS) funded by USAID and the Uganda government, and the In-Service Secondary Teacher Education Project (INSSTEP) for "improving Secondary Education through better resources and teacher education" is funded by the Overseas Development Agency (ODA) and the Ministry of Education and Sports.

The basic structure of formal education in Uganda consists of four levels, namely: Primary, Lower Secondary ('O' level), Upper Secondary ('A'level) and University. The four levels form a single track structure of 7+ 4 + 2 + 3 to 5 years, with minor variations in length of particular courses after primary education. The contribution of teachers in national integration and development in Uganda with particular interest in the role of teacher education was the focus of this study. The study attempted to understand the nature, realities and problems facing the contribution of the teaching profession to the realization of Uganda's national development policy.

The Ugandan government recognizes the following developmental roles of the teacher in leadership and service: (i) skillfully imparting to the learners knowledge to help them develop both the desire and ability to learn; (ii) encouraging the development of the student's individual personality and guiding him or her in the formation of positive and acceptable social values; (iii) promoting the spirit of collective responsibility in the school and in the teaching profession; and (iv) bridging the gap between educational institutions and the community to ensure fruitful interaction between the two and proper fulfillment of the functions of the schools'/colleges' obligations to the community. As the Education Policy Review Commission (EPRC, 1992) stated, "no education system can be better than the quality of its teachers, nor can a country be better than the quality of its education." (p.xiii).

Yet, with this laudable statement, the conditions under which teachers work in Uganda have steadily deteriorated undermining their morale, esteem, prestige and status as role models in the community. In-service education is minimal; teachers' salaries have became meaningless in terms of meeting basic survival needs; classrooms have very high teacher-pupil ratios; and teachers have been frustrated by the absence of promotional ladders. All these aspects of the working conditions of teachers have affected the quality of education. The concept of quality in recent literature on education and development has been dominated by economists who confine their discussion solely to that which is measurable by over-stressing the significance of achievement grades. The literature in most cases attempts to correlate these grades equally with measurable inputs such as size of class, expenditure on libraries or on school buildings or on teacher training rather than its relevance and practical utility to the majority poor people in terms of solving social, economic, and cultural problems (Dore, 1976).

The imbalance in the distribution of social amenities, incomes and opportunities between rural and urban areas and other regional inequalities has also discouraged qualified graduate teachers from serving in rural areas. Because of poor remuneration, a good number of teachers have left teaching for politics, administration and other higher-paying jobs; and some have left Uganda for other countries as part of the brain drain. This has kept many schools sustained by unqualified teachers. Common in Uganda as a source of extra income is private teaching (coaching) and even extended family support, contrary to what is normally claimed that the extended family is a burden on such civil servants. Parents have tried to supplement government paid salaries with some funds generated through self-help / self-reliance initiatives by Teachers Parents Associations (PTAs). But their contribution is inadequate especially in rural areas and elsewhere where the students who attend the school are children of the poor masses. Claims are even made that some teachers withhold information in class so as to create a need for students to approach them for private coaching. All these have affected the health of teaching and the teaching profession. As a consequence, most teachers are a dispirited force who feel neglected, enjoying the least respect in society, without incentive or opportunity to learn anymore than they took in at the start. The situation was aggravated by the economic decline during the military rule in the 1970s and the subsequent civil wars in the first half of the 80s which left the country's infrastructure and other vital institutions ravaged, giving way to corruption, violation of human rights, and structural violence.

Grootaert, (1994) a Senior Economist at the World Bank, has argued that the focus on African government expenditure presented in many assessments of the impact of structural adjustment on the social sector are misplaced. He uses a case study of Cote d'Ivoire to show that during a period of structural change, the poorest segments of the population suffered a significant deterioration in access to education and educational achievement. Yet, countrywide, indicators were stable or declined only slightly, and government expenditure indicators even showed an upward trend. Grootaert concludes that reliance on government expenditure indicators lead to wrong policy conclusions, failure to recognize the needed reorientation of government expenditure by retargeting education and other social services towards the poorest. Whereas Uganda is hailed as the show-case of IMF and World Bank as a successful story for structural adjustment policies, the plight of the poor majority is lamentable. The social services of the poor in terms of education and health services have suffered budget cuts undemocratically leaving their schools least attractive to trained teachers, and only filled with malnourished children.

My interest in investigating the field of the teaching profession, therefore, partly arises from a recognition of the teacher's role as the primary agent of the school system. It also stems from the direct involvement I have had since the age of six when I started interacting with formally trained teachers in school as a pupil; in my undergraduate and graduate training as a student teacher and teacher educator respectively; and my current position as a faculty member of the School of Education at the University of Makerere. During the time I was a high school student in 1975-80, we were encouraged to view ourselves as individuals who came alone. Our common motto was "Every one for himself and God for us all." The school authorities thrived on intimidating students from acting collectively through reward and punishment e.g., corporal punishment, suspensions, expulsions, and manual labor. It was common to remind the student that "you came alone and you will go alone". This was setting a precedent in our socialization for individualism, selfishness, contradicting values of struggling together, collectively for the common good.

When I started teaching in 1985, I experienced issues related to the relevance of education, paradigmatic and pedagogical orientations, school organization and its relations with the wider community. The community was and is still mainly recognized as a hinterland for students who fill the school. Only when a student had a problem at school did a parent come to visit the school or PTA meetings which parents associated with more demands for extra money. I do not think that the school was fully integrated with the community. In regard to my teaching role, the Head of Department gave me a syllabus and showed me what she expected me to teach, how to teach it and particularly how to prepare students for final examinations. She stressed "coaching" or "drilling" students, as it is popularly known, for final competitive examinations. The limited number of places at the University made the situation worse because of the examination pressure that was meritocratically intense and very selective.

The cooperative learning spirit that could have been nurtured to promote unity and communalism rather than individualism among the students appeared to be in discord with what was practiced in the school. I can now realize that the curriculum content was a given set of factual knowledge that I was asked to transmit to the students in the way I had passed through it. I have also come to realize the kind of influence my former teachers had on my professional development as a teacher particularly those who had impressed me. For instance, we studied European history without relating it to the African setting and I think I did the same in most of my teaching when I became a teacher. Though inwardly I questioned its relevance, I was not able to go beyond feeling uncomfortable to being critical because it was totally divorced from my training background. My students looked at me eager to write everything I said as if I was a fountain of "truth" - the same way we used to do, even at university. It was further aggravated by the scarcity of textbooks and the competitive examinations at all levels.

The desire and will among the teachers to struggle for a democratic and just society was undermined through pitting teachers against one another. Hence, the administration encouraged teachers and students to inform against each other. Discussions that would have promoted a spirit of democracy had they been allowed spaces were viewed with disdain by the administration as instigating trouble, disobedience, and bringing "politics" or "tribalism" into the school setting. Hence, these issues and problems facing the role of teachers in Uganda motivated my interest in pursuing this study on the realities, issues and problems facing the teaching profession as they are called upon to contribute to national integration and development in Uganda.

1.4. Critical pedagogy for hope and transformation

This is a pedagogy with features of conscientization which deals with the pedagogical means that are appropriate in working towards praxis in the critical paradigm. The primary aim is to liberate the conscience of the domesticated and dominated. Through exchanging ideas, it would make students active participants by discussing common problems in their daily life rather than using materials removed from the learners' setting. Critical pedagogy increases political awareness and literacy at the grassroots level by helping the people realize the roots of their marginalization as human-made but not predestined on the day of creation. In doing so, it would foster an objective understanding of how global structural inequalities and external interventions in the name of profit or national interests are intimately linked to internal systems of class injustices and violence. Critical pedagogy would facilitate the raising of consciousness and commitment of learners to exercise their democratic rights to express solidarity with the poor and oppressed consistent with participatory, equitable, appropriate, conscientizing and ecologically oriented development in a poor nation like Uganda (Freire, 1970; 1986; Apple; 1995; Giroux; 1986).

Critical pedagogy is most interested in emancipatory knowledge which attempts to reconcile and transcend the opposition between technical and practical knowledge. Emancipatory knowledge helps to understand how social relationships are distorted and manipulated by relations of power and privilege. It also aims at creating the conditions under which irrationality, domination, and oppression can be overcome and transformed through deliberative and collective action. In sum, it seeks to create a foundation for social justice, equality, and empowerment (Giroux, 1994). Critical pedagogy does not take a curriculum for granted. From a perspective of critical educational theorists, the curriculum is more than a program of study, a classroom text, or a course syllabus. Rather it represents the introduction to a particular form of life; it serves in part to prepare students for dominant or subordinate positions in the existing society. The curriculum (both formal and the hidden) therefore needs to be problematized since it favors certain forms of knowledge with little regard for others, often discriminatorily on the basis of elitist, gender, and indigenous cultural knowledge. In general, critical pedagogy focuses on descriptions, discussions, and representations in textbooks, curriculum materials, course content, and social relations embodied in the classroom practices which benefit dominant groups and exclude subordinate ones and their connectedness to the whole process of development (McLaren, 1989; Freire, 1970; Shor, 1986).

1.5. Statement of the research problem

At official and public levels, there are concerns that education produces graduates at all levels, who are "dysfunctional" in the Ugandan setting and are unable to contribute to national development. Commissions have been set on several occasions since independence and have produced policies geared towards the reform of education in order to make it relevant. Yet, according to the assessment of these official bodies, the products continue to be "misfits" in the political, social, cultural, and economic milieu they are supposed to operate. They, as a consequence, fail to contribute to national development. Whether the fault lies in setting national goals wrongly and/or the formation of teachers' attitudes, skills and values has remained enigmatic and problematic.

According to the Education Policy Commission Report (1992), teacher education in Uganda should be guided by the following principles and strategies: (i) to broaden and deepen the trainee's academic knowledge of the teaching subjects; (ii) to produce competent, reliable, honest and responsible teachers; (iii) to produce highly motivated, conscientious and efficient teachers; (iv) to develop and deepen attitudes conducive to development, respect for work, loyalty, self-reliance and to cultivate a desire for life-long education; (v) to instill professional ethics and develop an inquiring mind for innovative education; (vi) to cultivate a sense of national consciousness, patriotism and allegiance to the professional code of conduct; (vii) to prepare teachers for co-curricular activities as well as for guidance and counseling as part of their duties; and ((iii) to prepare teachers adequately for efficiency in educational administration, management, evaluation and measurement. Furthermore, the educational development policy of the present (NRM) government in Uganda is oriented to a fundamental transformation that would lead to genuine independence and sustained development on the basis of self-reliance.

These official concerns regarding the teaching profession and associated teacher education programs, as well as earlier discussed conceptual parameters of teaching, lent significance and urgency to a research study which would illuminate the present and potential role of teachers in national development. What and how is the teaching profession contributing to the realization of national development policies based on principles of social justice, cultural relevance, democratic participation and environmental sustainability? This study began by giving narrative spaces for a sample of high school teachers to voice their understanding of their professional realities. It then encouraged the teachers to relate these understandings to alternative theorizing and practice for teaching that could empower both students and teachers to positively contribute to national development consistent with principles of social justice, economic relevance and sustainability. In sum, based on the reflections of a sample of teachers , school administrators, and policy makers in Ugandan higher senior secondary schools, **this study sought to understand the contemporary realities experienced or conceived by teachers and explored how and why these realities might be contributing, positively and/or negatively to the realization of Uganda's national development policies.** Although the primary respondents in this study were teachers themselves, it was deemed relevant to also listen to school administrators and other policy-makers to obtain complementary and interrelated data. Specifically, the study was guided by the following themes: (i) teachers' professional identity; (ii) life in schools; (iii) school and community; (iv) and education and development.

1.6. Significance of the study

This study sought to gain original insights into the values, attitudes, beliefs and practices of teachers in terms of their paradigmatic orientations in the context of appropriate national development of Uganda. It aimed at illuminating possibilities for teachers, policy makers and implementors of education programs to reconsider the realities confronting the teaching profession, and the implications of those realities for national development. This study arose from a recognition that the teaching profession is a key to any reform of the education system and improvement in the quality of education the schools provide. The adequacy of educational provision, both in quality and quantity, is inextricably related to the adequacy in the quality and quantity of teachers.

So far , no study of this kind has been done on teaching and teacher education at a micro level in Uganda. The study should, therefore, be more than timely. It should be a useful contribution in explaining the nature of the knowledge, worldviews and the ethos that inform the teaching profession, and how this knowledge is transmitted/disseminated to the students in the schools. The findings of this study should help policy makers and implementors of programs in education, especially the corollary field of teacher education to gain insights into **why** education responds the way it currently does to the needs of society, and possibilities for transformation. A more critically oriented teaching profession, in conjunction with other educational, political and economic reforms, is considered to be a prerequisite to create a more democratic, sustainable and just society.

1.7. Organization of the thesis

The thesis is organized in eight chapters. In chapter one, the thesis of the study is introduced. It sets the background to the problem and context in which the issues that give rise to the study emerge. Chapter two explores the conceptual framework that guides the investigation. As signposts to the study, the related literature is critically reviewed with the purpose of identifying the gaps to be filled or caveats that need clarification and shedding more light. The third chapter focuses on the methodology the study employed. It presents a justification of the qualitative methodology as the most appropriate for investigating the problem.

The following four chapters present thematically the details of the findings in the study. Each chapter on findings constitutes a pertinent theme which in itself is further structured in sub-themes. Chapter four focuses on teachers professional identity. Voices of teachers are provided spaces in narrative form. In chapter five, life in schools as sites for democratic interaction through learning and teaching is explored. The sixth chapter explores school community relationship. In chapter seven the concept of development is explored. Then lastly, chapter eight is a summary of the findings and conclusions of the study.

CHAPTER 2

CONCEPTUAL AND THEORETICAL FRAMEWORK

2.1. Introduction

All teachers in any society work within specific social, economic, political and cultural contexts. Teachers have also received professional socialization through their preparation or training in colleges or faculties of education, imbibing certain paradigmatic orientations which, over the years, have influenced their professional output and development. It will be useful therefore to review the wider societal context of teaching in a South nation like Uganda, including both internal and external forces and/or worldviews that influence the teacher's role in national development within the prevailing international order. The theoretical insights that have emerged in the discourse on paradigms of teacher education will also be valuable in understanding the realities of the teaching profession in Uganda and the possibilities for transformation.

Third World nations have relied on formal education ever since they gained their political independence with the aim of using it as an engine for development. The teaching profession inevitably has been instrumental, as the provider of the primary agents, in this development endeavor. The industrialized nations were used as the model for the cherished development with the assumption that the development path they trailed was invariably ideal for the rest of the world to emulate. This unilinear imitation has brought out numerous concerns in the education system in Third World nations which have had far reaching implications for people-centered development. The variation between the South and North societies seems to fall in the degree of their magnitude rather than in world views or paradigmatic orientations. The similarities are accounted for by the dominant international order that is capitalist-driven in nature which engages both North and South societies in one world history, manifestly related to social, political, cultural and economic patterns in present day realities. The capitalist mode of production, in its advance and expansion, carried with it political, social, cultural and economic institutions that have impacted on Third World nations such as Uganda, whose formal education system originated from colonial masters of the North. The dominant paradigm that has characterized and influenced education systems and development in the North and the South is the modernization paradigm or the structural functionalist or the behaviorist, as Schubert has portrayed in teacher education. The main impact of this paradigm has been to diffuse the so-called positivist knowledge that assumes to be empirical-analytic, scientific, universal and culture and value free in nature.

2.2. Education and development: views of the modernization paradigm

During the 1950's and more especially in the 1960's most Third World countries gained their political independence from their colonial masters and embarked upon the process of economic and educational development. The sense of optimism and confidence nationalists had in education as a panacea to problems of development resulted in an unprecedented expansion of colonial education systems and education provision between 1950-1980 (Watson, 1988; Simons, 1980). Education, from a modernization paradigm, was conceived under the human capital theory as producing the skilled and productive human resources needed to industrialize and fulfill other tasks of "becoming modern" (Shultz, 1960).

Politically, it was expected that educated people would be instrumental in bringing about a sense of national unity and in cultivating new attitudes and values toward nation building. The expansion of secondary schools and tertiary institutions was intended to solve the problem of expatriate staff in the civil service, teaching posts and key administrative posts by replacing them with indigenous technocrats. It was also viewed as a solution to the population that was growing at undesirable rates. The view held was that better education would lead to a decline in population growth because educated women would marry later and would want fewer children (UNDP, 1989: 16; Watson, 1988: 135). What was the basis of all these assumptions? Was the type of education that most suited the social economic development needs of poor countries taken into consideration? Why did Third World nations simply expand colonial education systems?

The majority of new leaders who were products of this colonial education did not see anything wrong with the relevance, quality and appropriateness of education they had gone through; they only felt it was in very short supply. Some beneficiaries of this colonial education who hold key positions in universities and government boast with nostalgia that British or French colonial education was the best; and that things went wrong when the colonizers left and Third World nations became politically independent. The main assumption which proved to be the main drive of elitist models of the modernization paradigm was that education would propel the modern sector and lead to unprecedented economic growth. Consequently, the benefits that would accrue from any such development would trickle down to the poorer sections of the society - mainly those working in the traditional sector (Lulat, 1988; Bacchus, 1981), as the NRM Ten Point Program faithfully advocates:

> The crucial element to be tackled is not to distribute the little that there is through socializing economic units, but rather the restructuring that can, at last, allow wealth to be generated and retained in the national economy (p.35).

But this goal of accumulation, as time has proved, was a mistaken assumption. As Bacchus (1981) has noted, it was instead found that,

> The elites and others who are relatively affluent are not and are never likely to be sieves through which the benefits of development will trickle down to the lowest levels of society. Historically they have been and they are likely to remain sponges which absorb and retain for themselves the benefits of any development from the top (p. 20).

The origin of this mistaken belief is deeply rooted in the colonial legacy that was bequeathed to Third World nations by their former direct masters without fundamentally subjecting these political, economic, and educational institutions to structural changes that would harmonize them with people-oriented strategies of development. The economies and societies of the Third World cannot be viewed as national systems. The present organization of production in Third World nations has been following the modernization paradigm for almost forty years. The type of technology that has been used in the modern sector and the type of goods produced are intimately tied to a transnational development pattern whose dynamic center and focus is in the industrialized countries. The dominant values and norms that have been diffused into Third World societies through educational institutions are fundamentally and largely external to society itself, without any organic and sustainable linkages to development. This has had implications for the process of development and the participation of the masses (Carnoy, 1982; Lulat, 1988; Yeakey, 1981).

McMurtry (1988) has noted that "educating for democracy", “teaching independent thinking", "developing critical and creative minds", "adapting to change", "scientific understanding" and "developing of moral responsibility" are all worthwhile central objectives of the vocation of schooling. Yet, under the modernization paradigm, it is the school system that institutionally prevents their fulfillment at the same time. Issues and problems like resource depletion, pollution, Third World famine and impoverishment, political instabilities; homelessness; health deficiencies; work alienation and exploitation; the growing gap between and within the rich and the poor nations; racial/ethnic , gender, class, and age discriminations; structural violence and other forms of human rights violation have not been emphasized in the curriculum (Toh, 1987a; George,1987; Payer, 1987). Structurally, the modernized educational system has facilitated societal stratification by class, gender and ethnic-cultural identity, endorsed a passive citizenship values, and schooled for economic irrelevance (Toh, 1987b; Carnoy, 1982).

Influenced by its paradigmatic orientations, the theorists of modernization have developed a distinct way of interpreting the existence and persistence of poverty in Third World nations. According to the conventional wisdom of this paradigm, poverty has remained in existence, and continues to persist, due to the failure of those underdeveloped parts of the globe to follow the unilinear path of development blazed by modernized affluent nations. The assumption is that in order for the underdeveloped countries to develop, they ought to and can reverse the features of underdevelopment by imitating the industrialized North with advanced capitalism and the high mass-consumption society as the highest stage of social development. The adherents of this paradigm strongly believe that what Western Europe or Australia or North America passed through to acquire their present development ought to be mechanically duplicated by Third World countries in order for them to develop. Existence and persistence of "backwardness" is associated with Third World nations' failure to get on the unilinear path to development (Allahar, 1995; Kitching, 1982; Hyden, 1978).

Modernization theorists advance another assumption that attributes underdevelopment or insufficient 'development' to the lack of, certain internal characteristics in Third World nations. The lack of infrastructure (transport, power, etc.), scientific/technological receptivity, health/literacy, and a class of entrepreneurial elites are associated with the internal deficiencies in attitudes and values of those societies (Krause, 1961). According to Rostow, it is possible to identify all societies in their economic dimensions as lying within five categories: the traditional society, the preconditions for take-off, the take-off, the drive to maturity, and the age of high mass-consumption. The logic that follows is that underdevelopment is the original stage of what are supposedly traditional societies--that there were no stages prior to the present stage of underdevelopment. It is also implied explicitly in Rostow's view that the now "developed" societies were once undeveloped. But this entire approach to economic development and cultural change is ethnocentric, attributing a history to the "developed" countries but denying all history to the underdeveloped ones. None of these underdeveloped countries, for example India, is today the way it was a century or decades ago. It is argued that developed countries exhibit pattern variables of universalism, achievement orientation, and functional specificity while underdeveloped countries are characterized by their opposites--particularism, ascription, and functional diffuseness. To develop, Hoselitz counsels, underdeveloped countries should eliminate these pattern variables and adopt those of development characterized by clearly delineated specific roles, acquired through achievement criteria and oriented towards universal norms (Allahar, 1995: 75; Frank, 1969: 25).

Social psychologists posit that the socioeconomic and political problems of the periphery rest within the periphery itself, and specifically in the social-psychological make-up of its inhabitants. David McClelland, one of the chief advocates of this school of modernization psychology, argues that "it is values, motives or psychological forces that determine ultimately the rate of economic and social development." McClelland examines two related factors that are supposed to lead to development: "a need for achievement (n'Ach); and entrepreneurship"--factors that promote modernization but are absent in underdeveloped societies. To McClelland, societies that encourage entrepreneurial behavior and competitiveness among their members tend to be more developed than those in which people "act very traditionally on economic matters" (McClelland, 1964: 183). Underdevelopment, therefore, is attributed to the lack of entrepreneurs that are possessed of the "strategic mental virus" that leads to the establishment of businesses, economic rationality, and market innovativeness that are so crucial to the development of any society. He almost disregards the wider social and structural contexts within which such matters as business rationality and market innovations actually take place (Allahar, 1995: 83).

Daniel Lerner views the lack of a "mobile personality endowed with instrumental rationality" as the reason for persistent underdevelopment. Like McClelland and Lerner, Inkeles believed that "making man modern" would promote a meritocratic, market society which would set the underdeveloped societies on the road to "progress" (Allahar, 1995). But the idea of meritocracy has proved elusive worldwide. Apart from that, this model is ethnocentric. The assumption that all the countries in the world will follow or even want to follow the path taken by the Western countries is not warranted.

Modernization political scientists argue that Third World nations are underdeveloped because the political organization existing in those societies is deficient of Western 'liberal democracy' that has characterized the industrialized North. Third World countries with weak traditions of 'plural' and 'competitive party-politics' need to modernize their political systems. The modernization paradigm also views the relationships between rich and poor nations as beneficial, be they aid, trade or investments. Third World underdevelopment is associated with the lack of needed capital, technology and expertise. According to this view, Third World countries are underdeveloped because they are not fully integrated in the world capitalist system. Furthermore, it is claimed that free trade of resources is what these countries need in order for them to exchange what they produce for what they do not have and gain through comparative advantages by exchanging their agricultural products for manufactured goods. Transnationals are viewed as a missing development input in Third World countries which would provide capital, expertise and managerial skills that are badly needed for the development of Third World nations. Hence, adherents of the modernization paradigm believe that Third World countries need to open doors to Transnationals rather than remaining in isolation which does not allow the diffusion of modern technology that would change subsistence means of production into modern and developed economies.

2.3. Education and development: views from the critical paradigm

Increasingly, however, a critical alternative perspective of viewing development has emerged to challenge the assumptions of the modernization paradigm and to demystify its technocratic, top-down prescriptions. This alternative worldview, variously embodied in the PEACE paradigm, dependency" and "world systems" analysis, or the structuralist paradigm instead advocates for development based on principles of participation, equity, appropriateness, conscientization and environmental sustainability which are grassroots-oriented (Amin, 1977; 1980; George, 1976; Payer, 1987; Toh, 1987a).

The PEACE paradigm provides an alternative that explains the structural violence which keeps people hungry and poor in a world of plenty, and attempts to create possible paths of liberation towards authentic mass development. Toh (1980; 1986, 1987a; 1992, 1996) has in most of his works elaborated this alternative paradigm of development using the acronym PEACE. It holds development policies which

> are **participatory** with the poor no longer powerless and passively accepting decisions dispensed from above by the elites or experts. Participation allows the accumulated knowledge of the poor to be tapped, rather than ignored to the detriment of many modernization schemes.

> Social, political and economic structures require radical transformation, so that societal resources and wealth are **equitably** distributed within and between nations. Methods and technology have to be **appropriate**, optimizing use of local material, human and cultural resources and capable of maximizing economic benefits to the poor majorities. Above all, a PEACEful development embodies the process of **conscientization**, whereby the oppressed understand the political roots of their poverty and act to liberate themselves. But at the same time, such mass-oriented development should harmonize with, not destroy the **environment** on which long term human survival depends (1987a, p.60).

In education and development, this alternative paradigm seeks to approach development holistically rather than the current compartmentalization and fragmentation of knowledge and leaving it to the monopoly of the so-called "expert". In this paradigmatic orientation, the elite are no longer "experts" and "managers" in the whole process of identifying needs, issues and problems, and how to tackle them. The masses also take part in creating and defining knowledge which is most relevant, appropriate, and sustainable in the environment in terms of promoting self-reliance instead of dependence.

This paradigm views underdevelopment taking into account the historical growth of capitalistic relations of production on a world scale, including mercantilist accumulation and then colonialist imperialism. The reproduction of these international capitalist relations of production in the post-'independence' era has perpetuated political-economic and socio-cultural dependency rather than ushering in autonomous development. The structures of dependency and neo-colonialism are sustained by unequal and exploitative class relations within Third World nations and the international collaboration between ruling-classes of the Industrialized North and Third World Nations (Toh, 1980). As Esteva (1993) noted,

> ...the 'backward' or poor countries were in that condition due to the past looting in the process of colonization and the continued raping by capitalist exploitation at the national level and international level: underdevelopment was the creation of development (p.3).

This view is corroborated by different scholars (Amin, 1974; Frank, 1969; Toh, 1980; Baran, 1957). The surplus produced by a less developed country is siphoned off through investment, loan repayments and unequal trade relations. What little that remains is never reinvested in productive enterprises. Rather, it is wasted as luxury consumption by elites or drained off by metropolitan powers (Baran, 1957).

The outright plunder, unequal trade, land grabbing, manipulation of pre-capitalist production/destruction of local industry; severe exploitation of the Third World labor; penetration by foreign firms (especially in raw materials extraction) and legal, market, infrastructure and administrative facilities did not at all develop these people but only left a trail of dependent capitalism (Toh, 1980; Baran, 1957; Frank, 1969).

Frank (1969) using historical and political-economic analyses of Latin America emerged with a model of the world as a chain of metropolis-satellite linkages that relate (internationally and intra-nationally) metropolitan centers with satellites. He conclusively postulated that underdevelopment is a consequence of the economic hegemony of industrialized countries. In cases where new forms of capitalist expansion have stimulated some technical-industrial growth, it is of a "dependent" capitalist variety with serious anti-developmental consequences (Toh, 1980; Weisskopf, 1972).

Amin (1973) likewise shows how previously autonomously - developing traditional African societies lost their autonomy under the impact of merchantilism and colonization perpetrated by the capitalist centers, and became integrated into the world capitalist system as dependent peripheral societies. Closely linked to Samir Amin's world accumulation model, Wallerstein (1974) argues that there exists a single world economic system which is capitalist that was initiated way back in the sixteenth century and spread to embrace the entire globe three centuries later. Within this world-capitalist system, unequal exchange system between "core" and "periphery states occurs propelled by capitalist production to realize profits on a world market.

Following Lenin's classic study, the role of imperialism in creating underdevelopment has been examined by Marxist scholars. They view peripheral exploitation as a central feature of capitalism through its centuries-long history and nineteenth - century colonization as just one aspect of a longer term pattern in the modern era (Larrain, 1989; Allahar, 1995). Rodney (1972) and Chinuezu (1975) have documented the historical penetration by European capitalism into Africa, and its consequential underdevelopment of the continent. Albrecht et al (1974), de Silva (1982) and Naylor (1987) have also extensively shown how the sub-continent of India was de-industrialized and systematically underdeveloped with a railway-line that was fundamentally and purposely constructed to facilitate the quick movement of troops across the vast land, and later on, to exploit the hinterland to carry products to the coast.

The critical alternative paradigm, therefore, is instrumental in advancing the cause of development education which has been conceptualized as:

> ... education which fosters critical understanding of root causes of world hunger, poverty and underdevelopment, and simultaneously catalyses personal and social action which seeks to build human international relationships and structures and capable of at least meeting the basic economic, social, political and cultural needs of all human beings, with

> dignity, and freedom from exploitation and repression (Toh and Cawagas, 1992: 179).

Participation in this paradigm is considered paramount because it rejects the top-down strategy which the politicians, bureaucrats and technocrats impose on the masses - imposing imported curriculum programs on students without the input of the community. Instead, participation is encouraged by the alternative paradigm as a major ingredient that enables poor people to be involved in planning, implementing and controlling development schemes by drawing on their local/indigenous knowledge constructively. It is believed that this increases their willingness to identify with the education institutions and motivate them to utilize them unlike the case in modernization thinking where education institutions are fenced and condoned off from the communities they claim to serve. Hence, the critical alternative encourages popular education where the masses are involved and participating in their education as full subjects (Freire, 1970; LaBelle, 1987).

In striving for authentic development, equality becomes a major component of the critical alternative paradigm. Its thrust is to challenge the view held by modernizers that growth comes first, and distribution later. Hence equality is viewed as important under the critical alternative paradigm in overcoming structural violence embodied in unjust structures that perpetuate inequalities reproduced in the meritocratic schooling system to legitimate what the elites have cheated from the poor. The privilege of most elites accrues from the impoverishment of the masses. Hence, the critical paradigm is inclined to the view that growth has largely failed to reach the poor because of the deeply entrenched social, economic, and political structures that enhance inequalities which are beyond piecemeal reforms that avoid roots of poverty and inequalities (Eliou, 1976; Herman, 1982; Toh and Cawagas, 1992; Falk, 1980; New Internationalist, 1980a). The critical paradigm therefore is oriented towards the demystification of views geared to convince victims of modernization development that it is their fault and they are responsible for their failure. The modernization approach of legitimating the few privileged as the successful one is viewed as inimical to the egalitarian social order and building of a peaceful humane society. Bourdieu (1977: 162) instructively says:

> Nothing is better designed than the examination to inspire universal recognition of the legitimacy of academic verdicts and of the social hierarchies they legitimate, since it leads the self-eliminated to count themselves among those who fail, while enabling those who elected from among a small number of eligible candidates to see in their election the proof of a merit or "gift" which would have caused them to be preferred to all comers in any circumstances. Only when the examination is seen to have

> the function of concealing the elimination which takes place without examination, can it be fully understood why so many features of its operation as an overt selecting procedure still obey the logic governing the elimination which it conceals (p.162).

Bowles and Gintis (1976) have argued that the structures of the industrialized societies, which is the model the Third World nations are emulating, are so rigid that they can hardly be penetrated to allow any significant social mobility. The traditional liberal view that "You, too, can use this ladder to opportunity if you will only buckle down and work hard" is used to justify social, economic, and political injustices and inequalities by giving them a natural appearance (Coontz,1974). As Sarup (1983: 3) succinctly observed:

> the values expressed in most textbooks are, on the whole, those of the ruling classes consider essential to transmit. Many school texts, for example, imply that we should regard the poor as responsible for their poverty, the poorly educated as responsible for their lack of education. Such situations are seen as a consequence of the failure of ***individuals*** rather than the failure of the society to distribute educational resources universally. This ideology, usually associated with 'liberalism' or 'social democracy', encourages those actions that attempt to change the individual, while leaving the unequal economic structures intact.

It could be said, in short, that this social democratic approach separates the discussion of social justice, the distribution of education, from the mode of production. Textbooks further participate in social control when they "select in" some ideas and domains of knowledge and "select out" others, not by default, which are predominantly cultures of the majority poor (Sleeter and Grant, 1991).

2.4. The impact of colonialism and colonial education

Because the state was not indigenous to the social formation and had in fact been an expression of colonialism and imperial interests, a significant dimension of its coercive function was the elimination of indigenous cultures or the modification of traditional cultures to serve its legitimation needs. Attempts were made to eradicate indigenous systems of knowledge transmission and its reproduction and, in their place, was the establishment of rudimentary schooling directed more toward the inculcation of social control than the transfer of knowledge. As a consequence, the educational apparatus of the Third World state like Uganda was characterized by a weak infrastructure (differentiated by racial and class stratification), an extremely determined content, and a pervasive elitism directed to the formation of a local service class. Education, it could be argued, functions as an incubator" facilitating indigenous elite class formation" (Apple and Jules, 1995). In a similar tone, Rodney (1972: 264) also noted that "colonial schooling was education for subordination, exploitation, the creation of mental confusion, and the development of underdevelopment." One major, and the earliest conception of the role of education was to produce diligent, obedient, straightforward, kind and God-fearing Christians in a subservient, submissive manner (Bacchus, 1975; Ngugi wa Thiong'o; 1991). All other indigenous languages, cultures and religions were dismissed and declared superstitious (Garvey, 1982; Watson, 1982; Okot p'Bitek, 1973). In reference to the miseducation of Africans, Chinuezu (1975) observes thus:

> they were taught Christian values of a servile making sort. Unquestioning obedience to white men was presented as a cardinal virtue. ... These schools inculcated ... western individualist ethos that weakened their African identity, destroyed their commitment to an African communalist ethos, and erased their sense of patriotic responsibility to Africa (p.77).

The colonialists' and the missionaries' ideology behind teacher training was to produce change agents of modernization in spreading the gospel, attitudes, and values in the communities which led to the cultural reorganization of Africa. It was deemed necessary to create docile and loyal servants whose allegiance to Africa had to be undermined. Total admiration for Europe was instilled into the teachers who were to be the agents of this "civilization". Because of this education's foreign social base, it was incapable of adaptation to African needs or to support genuine development in society. The irrelevance of colonial education undermined the chances of survival and prosperity of societies in the context of overseas involvement and change; and "induced attitudes of human inequality" (Nyerere, 1970). Like the rest of formal education, teacher education was organized to serve a new economic order based on primary exports and only a limited and dependent local industrialization (Garvey, 1982).

Hence, Christian religious instruction was given equal standing in the curriculum with secular subjects both in schools and teachers' colleges. Most of the early teacher training in the Third World was undertaken by Church bodies and often linked to the training of evangelists (Bacchus, 1975). The minds processed by colonial and missionary education were left in ignorance of their past from which they were uprooted (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1987; Chinuezu, 1975; Okot p'Bitek, 1973; Brantlinger, 1985; Nandy, 1983).

When secular authorities assumed increased control over education, some doses of secularization reforms in curriculum content of the colleges were introduced. But still, the new administrative authorities used teacher education programs of the respective metropolitan centers--Great Britain, France, Belgium, Spain and the USA--as models from which they structured their own local programs. Teacher education programs in Uganda continued to be modeled on those of Britain. There were shortages of teacher trainers, but still, implicitly the decision to have teachers trained in the metropolitan centers was the general assumption of the universality of the role of the teacher which entrenched the modernization model that was practiced in the industrialized nations (Bacchus, 1975; Adams & Bjork, 1969; Toh, 1974).

In other words, colonial or missionary education constituted a mode of 'cultural imperialism' that was to serve the needs of political domination (e.g. neglect of mass education for social control; co-optation of local elites), economic exploitation (e.g. civil servants; capitalist values), and cultural domination (e.g. religious conversion; subservience). Independence fundamentally saw an expansion of metropolitan-type institutions without breaking with the educational structures and society-education relationships inherited from the colonial past (Altbach, 1977). The local elites well socialized into models/assumptions of metropolitan education, and supported by neo-colonial aid programs and knowledge dissemination networks now act as appendages of Western-led exploitation and imperialism in Africa and most of the Third World. Research evidence from studies in education and social stratification indicate that even though initial educational expansion facilitated some 'openness' to all classes, the evolution of structural inequalities has resulted in severe discrimination against both rural and urban poor (Toh, 1980; Yeakey, 1981). Nandy (1983) has articulately commented on the educational up-bringing of elites in his book entitled "The Intimate Enemy" that:

> education is a form of colonization which at least six generations in the Third World have learnt to view as a prerequisite for their liberation. This colonialism colonizes minds in addition to bodies and it releases forces within the colonized societies to alter their cultural priorities once for all. In the process, it helps to generalize the concept of the modern West from a geographical and temporal entity to a psychological category. The West is now everywhere, within the West and outside; in structures and in minds

Did African nationalists like Frantz Fanon, Patrice Lumumba, Kwame Nkrumah, Amilcar Cabral, Julius Nyerere, Nelson Mandera and others go through a similar education system? The answer is yes, but they represent a few who successfully resisted Westernization wholesale without a sense of selection. No wonder the price these nationalists paid for dissent, that is, their critical awareness, and their ability to nurture African nationalism and communalism as they went through western colonial education, was greater than what those who chose to be uncritical, mindless consumers of Western culture, submissive, subservient, and appendages of Western hegemony paid. The true nationalists became a target of opportunists whose miseducation resulted in contradictions that qualified people like Nkrumah as "traitors" to the elitist class they belonged to for campaigning against the special privileges. The Common Man's Charter and the subsequent 1971 military take over in Uganda could partly have been a result of the elites attempt to defend their over-inflated, excessive privileges, and even of arrogance since the move to the Left strategy was aiming at "bridging the gap between ... the rich, educated, African in appearance but mentally foreign" and "the majority poor and illiterate" masses (Mazrui, 1978: 199). In other words, colonial and post-colonial education liberated the elites and oppressed the masses at the same time. Similarly, the majority who passed through it became insensitive and undermined African nationalism and communalism in favor of western individualism and materialism.

2.5. Influence of internal and external forces on the teaching profession

In the post-colonial period, the tempo towards political independence was quickening, the demand for education was rapidly rising, and Third World economies could not withstand the burden of increases in educational expenditure at that time. Political pressures from the often newly enfranchised masses for more education made these countries seek quick ways of putting as many teachers as possible into the classrooms. This led to a drastic change in the traditional teacher-education programs. The option was to lower the standards of entry into the profession since numbers were, during this massive operation, all important. Hence, quality was sacrificed in the name of quantity. However, the aspect of relevance to the cultural, social, economic and political needs of Third World nations still was not addressed(Solaru, 1964; Bacchus, 1975).

In Uganda, the colonial legacy gave itself a new form of legitimacy through the curriculum content, expatriate teachers, textbooks, and examinations that were prepared abroad in universities like London, Cambridge and Oxford. Consequently, institutions like teacher education remained intact without undergoing any fundamental changes that would make them reflect needs of an independent country. The methods of teacher training encouraged an attitude of uncritical acceptance of text material, and lack of imagination among the trainees (Ladefoged, Glick & Criper, 1972: 105). The products of this teacher training were not only told what to do but also how to do it which never allowed them to develop initiative "to start thinking for themselves" (Toh, 1974: 137). This led in turn to "sterile" non-adaptive teaching in classrooms where rote-learning was over-emphasized. When the government thought of training primary teachers, some trainees were sent to Canada to improve on their general education; "reading, speaking, writing English"; and to see well conducted infant and primary classes particularly in "rural classes" in an industrialized country (Toh, 1974). Britain also remained a model to emulate (Adam and Bjork, 1969; Dumont, 1962). Jorgensen (1981) captures the picture of the direction education took when Uganda gained her political independence in the following way:

> In education, Ugandanization posed a different dilemma. Should resources be allocated to expansion of the existing colonial educational system or to overhaul the structure and the curriculum? In the end, rapid expansion of the education system to meet the administrative manpower requirements of Ugandanization took priority over changing the curriculum to meet the changing needs of politically independent Uganda. Helped by loans, grants and teachers from the industrialized nations, the number of senior secondary schools admitting Africans rose from 19 schools with 3,153 students in 1958 to 73 schools serving 40,697 students in 1970. But this quantitative expansion was not matched by qualitative changes in the curriculum, which retained its British colonial orientation, producing paternalistic administrative cadres who lacked technical skills and scorned manual labor (p.240).

Many Third World political leaders like Nyerere (1970) started looking critically at the value of traditional teacher education programs, in the light of their economic, political and social conditions. He wished the teachers to be the primary change agents through rational explanation and critical dialogue to nourish and stimulate young minds towards changing their attitudes. But in practice, teachers showed lack of critical thinking, self-confidence and cooperative attitudes; lack of proper understanding of the ideology of communalism (Ujamaa); and lack of motivation and initiative to inspire pupils (Rajabali, 1993).

Most Third World educational bureaucrats essentially were not prepared to be contented with anything short of "a complete Western education as they believe it to be" (Bacchus, 1975). Samoff (1991) captures the entire experience which has continued to characterize teacher education and the entire education in Third World nations especially Africa:

> The persistence of older forms and functions has to do with control and organization in education decision making. The institutional inertia of the bureaucracy and the self-protective responses of bureaucrats who recognized their common corporate interests impeded many reform efforts. The prevailing ideology of education accepted these patterns--authoritarian teaching, teacher-centered classrooms, lecture and recitation as the preferred mode of teacher-student interaction, learning as the transfer of knowledge, bureaucratic administration, elite-focused schooling, examination-driven curriculum--as natural. Here we find the hegemonic character of the ideology of modernization: so thoroughly integrated into daily practice that its precepts are considered to be the natural way of doing things (Samoff, 1991: 9-10)

Western/Northern education has also been an explicit reinforcer of social privilege, political elitism and economic and social injustice. A marked feature of these recently independent countries is that opportunities for upward social mobility have been declining in the post-independence period and the new local elite who, largely on account of their education, enjoy relatively prestigious positions have developed vested interests in the existing social structures and are not very keen on democratizing these further (Bacchus, 1975: 4; Yeakey, 1981; Samoff, 1993). Yeakey (1981: 188) concludes that "although egalitarianism and democratization are stressed, the schools, in the main, comprise an inherently elitist, hierarchical prefectorial system. While some form of socialism is stressed by most African leaders following independence, the classrooms remain inextricably wedded to the norms of individual achievement over the collective good: values embedded in Western capitalism". Hence, the teaching profession in countries like Uganda has been shaped by these internal forces favoring the modernization paradigm resulting in models of preparation which ill-equips teachers to critically understand and transform their own history, culture and social, political and economic conditions.

Formal education in virtually all Third World countries particularly in the university setting has been a dissemination of the predominant assumptions, models and methods of Western/Northern regimes of knowledge (Arnove, 1982; Altbach, 1977). But this education only proved, as time went by, that it was "both the child and the companion of 'modernization'." The mission of these education transplants is still of "replicating the social structures already found in the industrialized societies" and to support the "existing world economic order as the best of all possible worlds and to maintain the belief that Western values are the most appropriate for continued progress in a technological age" (McGinn, 1984). Some of the organizations that are among the prime and generous participant institutions supplying the seeds of the claimed development are fundamentally "agents of capitalist penetration and Western domination of the Third World" as exemplified by the activities of multilateral or bilateral agencies (e.g.. World Bank, USAID) and private foundations (e.g. Rockefeller , Ford) (Arnove, 1982; McGinn, 1984; Altbach, 1977; Lee et al., 1988; Einsemon, 1977; Chadwick et al, 1974).

The process of transnational transfer of Western or Northern knowledge suggests that imitative and uncritical knowledge use continues in spite of persistent demands for locally relevant knowledge. This is attributed to various factors which include lack of the capacity to develop more sustaining academic communities dedicated to human development; the insistence of local scholars on playing the role of knowledge transmitting conduits rather than engaging in knowledge construction; the inability to create a system which better supports 'reality testing' of Western or Northern knowledge as well as of studies of indigenous educational concerns; and lack of the evolution and encouragement of critical and competing educational theories in a majority of Third World nations (Lee et al., 1988; Amin, 1974). In North-South knowledge exchanges, the South or Third World remains largely peripheral. Alternative, critical perspectives are often also resisted, and this resistance is aggravated by more senior intellectuals who are comfortable with an imported "regime of truth" without subjecting it to rigorous scrutiny or analysis.

The fact that Third World countries are too poor to marshal resources required for badly needed research does not mandate the uncritical and mechanical imitation of imported theories, which is characteristic of a colonized and captive mind trapped in servitude (Alalas, 1972: Altbach, 1977; Mazrui, 1978; Foubert, 1983; Chadwick et al, 1974). As Himbara and Sultan (1995) have noted,

> Regrettably, in reading Uganda's official documents, one does not get the sense that there is either concern about donor dependency, or a strategy to overcome it. In effect, the prevailing arrangements are sanctioned as normal. ... Can an administrative and policy apparatus made up of foreign expatriates presiding over structures that rely principally on multilateral and bilateral aid donations be categorized as a national state and a democratic economy? In present day Uganda, the state has in effect been reduced to the law and order apparatus (army, police, and prisons), with the national policy instruments and the related administrative regime falling more and more outside its scope ... It is tempting to compare these developments in Uganda with a colonial type of economy and state. (p.91).

Illich (1969) has argued that the "surrender of social consciousness to these pre-packaged solutions" constitutes the essence of underdevelopment of the Third World. They only succeed in perpetuating and rationalizing the existence of two societies, one a colony or neo-colony of the other--as the South emergent nations continue to educate for poverty. Advisors on teacher education programs from the industrialized nations have tended to sell their national systems they know well. Weiler(1984) observed as follows:

> What remains problematic, however, is whether graduate instruction in our typical North American School of Education conveys the kind of skills and conceptual categories necessary to understand, anticipate, and influence the dynamics of the political process that is involved in the decolonization of curriculum in developing countries. Not much of either attention or expertise in this matter appears to be forthcoming (Weiler, 1984: 172).

Toh (1974: 137) found out in a study on Uganda that "formulation of a realistic and workable curriculum" for the teacher trainees who were at the University of Alberta (1964-1966) "was hampered by a lack of first-hand knowledge of (the Canadian advisors) on the Ugandan situation".

Policy makers have been influenced by foreign experts and consultants to generate programs, recommend textbooks and import the curriculum. The advice received from the foreign experts in most cases reflects the educational training programs and models of their national systems with very limited relevance to the Third World countries, and are contained within the modernization paradigm (Altbach, 1971; Alatas, 1989; Samoff, 1993). Through case studies of foundation-sponsored educational aid, Berman (1979) exposes the close connection between those programs and an implicit (if not explicit) endorsement of American hegemonic interests in the Third World. King (1990) and Samoff (1993) argue that sometimes the relationship is aggressively manipulative when a funding agency makes the provision of support conditional on the adoption of specific policies, priorities and programs.

In sum, through the operation of the modernization paradigm in the educational system, the teaching profession reflects an orientation and a process that is largely externally determined, in which Third World nations and educators are collaborators but essentially junior partners (Samoff, 1993; Chadwick et al, 1974; Alatas, 1972; Altbach, 1974). While external forces may be the initial source of intervention, over time, local educated elites unproblematically internalize the dominant assumptions and strategies of modernization. This is not to deny that spaces have existed and can exist that would promote mutually beneficial partnerships between North and South that above all respond effectively to basic human needs and a PEACE paradigm of development. This is evidenced by exemplars of works of scholars in the North (Samoff, 1996; George, 1987;

Payer, 1987; Apple, 1995; Chomsky, 1994) who have expressed their compassion and solidarity with the marginalized poor masses of both the Third World and industrialized nations and have critiqued and demystified structures that perpetuate inequalities, structural violence, cultural dependency and marginalization. Nevertheless, the teaching profession in South contexts continue to work primarily in a system bounded by modernization assumptions and strategies. It was interesting through this study, to closely examine the realities of Ugandan teachers in their everyday life, and how they understand and practiced their paradigmatic role in education and development.

2.6. Education and cultural solidarity

An individual has the capacity to understand critically his/her life experiences and present dilemmas by situating herself/himself within history. As Chinua Achebe put it in his novel, *Things Fall Apart,* one needs to know where the rain started beating him before he knows where it stopped. Similarly, Mies (1986:18) has stated that "unless we know how things became what they are, we are unable to know how we should change them." This connection allows the individual critical insight into how the nature of his/her relationships contribute to the individual's identity, values, and ideological perspectives. In this way, individuals have the capacity to participate in shaping and responding to the forces which directly affect their lives (Britzman, 1986: 452)

Before western formal education was introduced on the African continent, indigenous culture which was the embodiment of society's ideology and technology was democratically preserved by all members of society from generation to generation. The socialization of the individual to become a participating member of society was one successful area of African education. At the heart of this education, was the strongly held belief that character was formed primarily through other people. To the Europeans individualism is the ideal of life; to the Africans, the ideal is the right relations with, and behavior to, other people with the aim of being on intimate terms with them (Furley and Watson, 1978). Fashioning of the individual took place among others and produced a feeling of brotherhood arising from their common activities. There was some degree of fusion between different African systems which was indicative of their progressively evolving nature. The rulers periodically incorporated good and progressive ideas from others if they resulted in a better educated community in their natural environment. This was equivalent to the present day cultural borrowing that constitutes a major aspect of comparative and international and intercultural education of our era.

African indigenous culture never faced any threats of extinction till the advent of messengers of "civilization". The arrival of Western culture transporting capitalism declared indigenous education and culture "primitive" and "unprogressive". Teachers were made redundant as pupils were absorbed into formal educational institutions. The role of the school as a major vehicle for transmitting social and cultural values, either as a force for social change (modernization) or as a means of reinforcing existing social structures (reproduction theory) is well documented (Young, 1971; Carnoy, 1974; Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Watson, 1982). Western formal education has contributed to the elimination of the innumerable varieties of being human and has turned the world into a place deprived of adventure and surprise; the 'other' has vanished with development (Esteva, 1992). The spreading monoculture has eroded viable alternatives to the industrial growth oriented society and dangerously crippled humankind's capacity to meet an increasingly different future with creative responses. The last forty years have considerably impoverished the potential for cultural evolution. Indigenous languages and traditional ways of doing things have vanished. It is a slight exaggeration to say that whatever potential for cultural evolution remains is there in spite of development (Esteva, 1992: 3). The power knowledge wields by directing people's attention to a certain reality while casting into oblivion other ways of relating to the world around us is part of that process of indigenous cultural genocide and systemic destruction (Ngugi wa Thiong'o, 1986; Okot p'Bitek, 1970). For Nyerere development should be political mobilization of a people for attaining their own objectives - he argues that it was madness to pursue the goals that others had set which undermines confidence in oneself and one's own culture. In other words, development and culture are intimately connected and inseparable. According to Ngugi (1987), production takes place in a culture.

Mazrui (1992) has cogently argued that through culture, people are provided lenses for perception and cognition. In other words, the way in which people view the world is greatly conditioned by one or more cultural paradigms to which they have been exposed, be it Western or African. The teaching profession has been the highest transmitter of Western culture in African societies in its effort to promote genuine development and its continued role in the consolidation of cultural dependency. Mazrui (1992) posits that unless the general structure of the education system changes, unless the content of the courses throughout the educational system and its criteria for recruitment of teacher trainees and training programs change, it will not be possible to domesticate and decolonize and later on balance modernity with indigenous African culture. The abilities of teachers determines, in a crucial manner, the quality of education, its relevance, and contribution to the development of culture and its survival or extinction. For instance, it would require teachers who can respond to the challenge if the whole significance of examinations was altered. By their training, some teachers have achieved a bare competence in the recital of memorable facts. This is a result of inferior teacher training. Dore (1976: 15) posits that unless there is a shift in the examination system, it remains difficult to remedy the situation. In a similar voice, Liston and Zeichner (1987) have pointed out that there is likely to be no significant lasting impact if the quality of teacher education is not improved as well.

2.7. Theorizing on teaching: the modernization/traditional Paradigm

In recent decades, a debate has been waged on what constitutes a good model of teaching and the corollary expectations for teacher education. While the terms of the discourse have largely focused on North contexts, some critical conceptual themes and insights are worthy of consideration for understanding the dynamics of South-based teaching especially given the continuing legacy of neo-colonial systems as discussed earlier. For example, there is the critique of the traditional "teacher-centered" approach whereby teachers implement a given core of course subjects using forms of pedagogy that enable students to master skills and understanding with respect to predetermined forms of knowledge. Put differently, it is characterized by rote learning or didactic teaching, rigid reliance on authority of texts, and authoritarian relationships in classrooms and schools (Vulliamy & Saunders,1983; Court, 1984; Samoff, 1991; Harber, 1994). Such knowledge has tended to have little connection to everyday experiences of the students themselves. The compartmentalization of the curriculum renders its organization fragmented into instructional activities reduced to discrete blocks of time, thereby isolating subject areas and decontextualizing skills. The process of fragmentation uproots knowledge from its sociopolitical context and consequences, and obscures relationships which connect the student to his/her social world. Knowledge takes on the appearance of a product, something unrelated to the learners' experience and empowerment as if the teacher "banks" education into the passive vessels of the student (Friere, 1981; Macedo, 1986; Shor, 1986; Runte', 1995; Ayres, 1986; Giroux, 1984).

Giroux (1986) also usefully argues that educators locked into the traditional perspective respond to student disinterest and resistance by shifting their concerns - from actually teaching positive knowledge to maintaining order and control. Britzman (1986) infers that social control is viewed as the measure of establishing competency and that students recognize the police-like powers teachers have in the classroom and expect the teacher to maintain classroom control, enforce rules, and present the curriculum. Weckstein (1983) noted that "when teachers themselves are part of an undemocratic workplace, their frustrations are more likely to result in teacher student conflict, and their conduct is less likely to serve as a model of self-directed behavior for students". Cusick (1983) posits that administrators spend their time on administration and control, evaluating the performance of teachers according to their abilities to maintain order. They tend to arrange other elements of the school according to how they contribute or fail to contribute to the maintenance of order.

Secondly, research and analysis have shown that by the time student teachers start their professional training, they usually have definite ideas about teaching and learning which were developed from their own educational experiences that shaped their perception of teaching. Zeichner et al. (1987) in a study of 13 student teachers also observed that personal values, beliefs, pedagogic, and paradigmatic orientations showed few signs of change or modification through professional education and experience in the classroom. Instead, perspectives were elaborated rather than radically altered by professional training, with students selecting from their experiences whatever suited their own perspectives. Britzman (1991) insightfully observes that:

> The story of learning to teach begins actually much earlier than the time one first decides to become a teacher. The mass experience of public education has made teaching one of the most familiar professions in this culture. Implicitly, schooling fashions the meanings, realities and experiences of students; thus those learning to teach draw from their subjective experiences constructed from actually being there. They bring to teacher education their educational biography and some well-worn and commonsensical images of the teacher's work. In part, this counts for the persistency of particular world views, orientations, dispositions, and cultural myths that dominate our thinking and, in unintended ways, select the practices that are available in educational life (Britzman, 1991: 3).

Britzman (1986: 443) argues that the underlying values which come together and form a whole in one's institutional biography, if unexamined, propel the cultural reproduction of authoritarian teaching practices and naturalize the contexts which generate such a cycle. She goes on to posit that:

> Teacher education, like any education, is an ideological education. It promotes particular images of power, knowledge, and values by rewarding particular forms of individual and institutional behavior. The ways that prospective teachers understand and experience power throughout teacher education shape their acceptance or rejection of the status quo. Similarly, teacher education's conception of knowledge can promote a view of the teacher as either technician or intellectual, and the extent to which values are rendered explicit can either inhibit or encourage a more critical pedagogy (p.443).

Since belief systems do influence classroom behaviors, it is important that student teachers be made aware of this relationship and be given the opportunity to identify and examine their beliefs and practice through critical reflection. Without this opportunity, student teachers are likely to adopt practices they remember from their own school days and merely reinforce the status quo (Zeichner, 1987; Dias, 1989).

Britzman (1986) has also identified three important facts which commonly shape commonly held views and experiences of secondary school teaching and learning: social control is a significant dynamic in classroom life; curriculum is compartmentally organized; and finally, schools are hierarchically ordered. The consequences of these statements are ultimately political in that this structure supports particular social, economic, ideological interests of the dominant society (Apple, 1982; Sarup, 1983). The view held by conservatives that education is neutral and devoid of politics is, in fact, a political act in order to maintain schools as sites for cultural reproduction and indoctrination (Macedo, 1986).

Teachers tend to find their work tied to taking on the dehumanizing "dirty work" of social class reproduction. They cannot be trusted to make curricular and instructional decisions which support this reproductive role. Thus a teacher is merely a regulated and contained conduit receiving and producing results on the basis of "input-output system" with little opportunities for thoughtful collaborative reflection and action (Carson, 1995). They have been bureaucratically subordinated, relegated to implement a predetermined curriculum, and held accountable for attaining instructional "productivity" goals (Carlson, 1987). The teacher who has fundamental doubts about his right to teach the curriculum is regarded as a deviant who "has made a mistake" in becoming a teacher. In other words, teachers' claimed professionalism has undergone systemic decay through deskilling which promotes the continuing cheapening and increased substitutability of teachers' labor (Harris, 1982). Consequently, alienation, burn out, loss of control and autonomy, morale and enthusiasm, creativity and originality and critical thinking have suffered as teachers surrender their job to technology (Runte', 1995; Dworkin, 1994). However, Mugoya (1974: 13) by then the Chief Inspector of schools in Uganda noted that, "a teacher can influence adversely by opposing innovation or merely remaining silent in the face of a growing need for reform". This is one of the forms of resistance in the culture of silence as weapons of the weak and oppressed who resort to undermining the system not so directly to suffer its wrath (Costigan, 1983).

Thirdly, the modernization paradigm views prospective teachers as relatively passive recipients of professional knowledge who play little part in determining the substance and direction of their preparation program. This dominant paradigm's view is that teacher education programs should seek to equip beginning teachers to fit as smoothly as possible into schools as they now exist. In addition, the criteria for measuring success are made explicit and performance at a pre-specified level of mastery is assumed to be the most valid measure of teacher competence. Zeichner (1983) argues that the desire to have teachers critically reflect upon the purposes and consequences of their work in terms of such issues as social continuity and change are not central concerns of this perspective. Underlying this orientation to teacher education is a metaphor of "production" (Kliebard, 1972) a view of teaching as an "applied science" and a view of a teacher as primarily an "executor" of the laws and principles of effective teaching (Tom, 1980). This perspective renders itself to the *technical* tradition of teacher education where the primary concern is with fostering the development of skill in an actual predetermined task. Whether the specific task is worth pursuing and whether the context in which the task is to be carried out is appropriate are not primary considerations. The problem of teacher education within this paradigm is construed within an educational and social context that is accepted as given (Zeichner, 1983). The structural setting in this way serves as a barrier to recognition and experimentation with alternative structures keeping out of sight the fact that the existing reality is only one of the many possible alternatives that could exist.

2.8. Resistance to change in teaching

Teachers have resisted moving away from the traditional method of transferring knowledge to passive recipients. Freire attributes it to the difficulty that lies in the creation of new attitudes - that of dialogue which is absent in the upbringing of teachers and the education they were exposed to. If teaching is to carry out education instead of domestication, it must be converted into dialogue (Freire, 1973: 52). "Domestication" means making students passive receptacles for official knowledge, excluding all steps specifically designed to elicit discussion about the learners' individual personal relationships to the situation being analyzed. In other words, the participants' sense of identification with the problems under discussion and feelings of responsibility for its solution remain unprovoked. Shor (1992) aptly argues thus:

> Domesticated students are no threat to inequality; they tolerate or celebrate the status quo. To be active, cognitive, and critical meant to Freire being a "subject" a person who has conscious goals and seeks methods to reach them, someone who takes her or his place in the world as a thinking citizen, a codeveloper of her or his education, and a re-maker of society who questions the unequal order of things. To promote this kind of democratic development in students, teachers have to first develop it in themselves (p.99).

Teachers' resistance to dialogue as a pedagogic method is a recurrent issue in the teaching enterprise. Freire (1970: 40) noted that when members of the elites or those who have internalized values of the elites decide to work for popular empowerment, they show "lack of confidence in the peoples' ability to think, to want, and to know ...They talk about the poor but they do not trust them." Teachers from elite backgrounds are predisposed to tell the masses what to think, instead of engaging them in dialogue. Freire concluded that "it is easier to create a new type of intellectual - forged in the unity between theory, manual labor, and intellectual work - than to re-educate an elitist intellectual."

Albeit Freire does not discount the validity of such re-education when it does occur, however, the tendency of the bourgeoisie mind to retreat to its original camp holds some amount of truth. Freire postulated that the old authoritarian inflexibility has a tendency of standing in the way of popular participation by the popular classes in the creation of a new education. This authoritarian inflexibility views the reorganization of education in favor of the popular classes as a task to be carried out by "experts" who know very well what must be done for the people (Freire, 1989: 77). The reduced role of students' voices decreases their participation in the classes. When there is no moment for the students to make their own meaning about the problem posed, mutual dialogue turns into "teacherly monologue and student silence" (Ishor, 1992, p.101). This can be frustrating to a young teacher who will decide to fall back on the chalk and talk old method of the old education they themselves went through. The origins of teacher resistance to dialogic approach to pedagogy are deeply rooted in the traditional schools and colleges future teachers attend. Goodlad's (1990) study of American teacher education is also insightful to the Third World when he concludes that:

> What future teachers experience in schools and classrooms during their years as students profoundly shapes their latter beliefs and practices. As teachers, they follow closely the models they have observed. Mental stereotypes developed over years of observing their own teachers are not challenged or fundamentally changed, apparently, by their experiences in formal teacher preparation programs (p. xiii).

Acting under different situations or realities, teachers like any other actors can choose whether or not to comply with an order to adopt an innovation by assessing the risks and rewards of non-compliance and compliance along with the risks of adoption and rejection. More subtly, the teacher-actor can choose to comply with an order without actually doing so, to comply temporarily until the threat of punishment is withdrawn, or to comply while covertly sabotaging the innovation. Pre-packaged, centrally mass-produced innovations are not susceptible to much adoption. Teachers find that trying out new ideas and practices is more time and energy consuming than practicing what is familiar and routine. The autocratic management styles which still persist in education systems of Third World nations, very large classes, hard-pressing school hours, lack of a more collaborative atmosphere have reduced the teachers' willingness to take risks of trying innovations. According to Hurst and Rust, (1990) low pay and status of teachers tend to demoralize them, and to weaken their professional commitment. This, in turn, causes them to lose interest in working extra hard or extra hours in attempt to bring about qualitative improvement; innovations aimed at reducing the cost of education tend to be seen as adding insult to injury (Hurst & Rust, 1990). Teachers who are prepared to change tend to be interested in ways which build on their past expertise and efforts instead of overturning or transforming everything they did. Teachers in mid-to-late career teaching can embrace gradual and respectful change with willingness but not radical transformative changes (Fullan and Stiegelbauer, 1991).

2.9. Individualism and autonomy in teaching

Whereas much research has emphasized teachers as individuals the more integrated teachers work perspective has stressed the way by which teachers and teaching are shaped by social relationships. The individualistic framework has attempted to classify work and people in more or less static (essential) categories. Individualism (also known as isolation or privatism), is characterized by situations in which teachers teach alone mainly in their isolated classroom "boxes," giving and receiving little help, advice, support, or feedback, and engaging in little joint planning or reflective dialogue about practice (Fullan and Stiegelbaeuer, 1991). Individualism has continued to be the cultural form for most teachers. Although individualism is sometimes celebrated and justified as professional autonomy, history has created it, architecture and school timetables have reinforced it, and teachers have themselves actively and strategically retained it as a way of minimizing the overwhelming constraints of bureaucracy. Some teachers prefer individualism with the aim of maintaining care and contact with their own students and to experience the comfort and creativity of personal solitude (Hargreaves, 1992). Much as solitude to certain individuals seems educationally beneficial, widespread cultures of individualism appear to lead to personal insecurity, lowered levels of risk, and reduced levels of teaching quality (Rosenholtz, 1989).

The classroom is normally viewed as a representation of both the teacher's mandated authority and the teacher's isolation. Much as teachers share collective problems, in this individual world, asking for help is viewed as a sign of weakness. The promotion of individualism concentrates on two aspects; independence and individuality. Within the culture of teachers, the combination of isolation and an emphasis on the value of autonomy functions to promote an "ethos of privacy" (Descombe, 1982: 257). As shared concerns become individualized concerns, privacy becomes valued as a source of teacher autonomy (Britzman,1986). This can be attributed to the extreme fragmentation of teachers, with its agenda and class dimensions, promoted by school management as a means of diffusing the possibility of collective action by teachers. The case is not different when teachers from different programs and qualifications are compared (Carlson, 1986). The ideological stress on teachers' individualism clearly militates against attitudes towards collective action by representing it as a negation of individual freedom. It is thus a powerful weapon, and deterrent, against collective action, and consequently against effective class struggle. Harris (1982) has argued that teachers entrenched in their individual independence and aware of their individual uniqueness are less likely to unite in what is their basic historical struggle.

There is also the tendency of balkanization in the teaching profession. Balkanization is characterized by the fragmentation of teachers into separate and competing subgroups (such as subject departments) pursuing different self-interests in an environment where common purposes, joint understandings, and multiple group memberships are. Hargreaves and MacMillan (1992) argue that balkanization makes it difficult for teachers to establish common school goals, leads to inconsistency and redundancy in program and pedagogy, reinforces invidious political and status differences between different kinds of subjects and different forms of knowledge, and reduces teachers opportunities to learn from one another across territorial boundaries.

Collaborative cultures which stress non-contrived collegial relationships and express principles of help, support, advice, planning, reflection, and feedback as joint enterprises are more desirable in teaching and the teaching profession. Contrived collegiality is a form of collaboration that is administratively forced more than facilitated (Grimmett and Crehan, 1992). While it can help to provide structured frameworks to get collaboration going, more often it captures, contains, and constrains it, subordinating teachers' purposes to those of administrators and engaging teachers in efforts that are superficial, wasteful, or divisive. It is a form of collaboration that does not so much create empowerment, as entrapment, enticement, or enslavement (Hargreaves, 1994).

2.10. School and democracy

It has been argued that there is a strong history of undemocratic, repressive practices in formal education in African institutions dating back as far as the colonial era. Authoritarian colonial governors enjoyed wide powers with very few restrictions and dealt with opponents by jailing or exiling them. The new states adopted this colonial method of work that made it difficult for opposition to operate freely which created fertile ground for dictatorship and military regimes as the case was in Uganda during Idi Amin's despotic rule. As a consequence, best brains have continued to flee Africa for America or Europe, especially Britain, partly because when they come up with honest opinions they are called dissidents and hounded out and partly because of other reasons related to brain drain (Rawnsley, 1990; Alatas, 1977; Watanabe, 1969). Schools in Africa have been considered to be authoritarian institutions, acting as breeding grounds of a future generation of adult citizens brought up on the Tylerian bureaucratic model of organization inherited during colonialism (Harber, 1994).

Stressing the control function of the school Fuller writes on Malawi as follows:

> Even today, when political leaders talk about "modernizing schools" or "improving school effectiveness" they usually envision bureaucratic ways of organizing - sharpening lines of authority, subdividing labor into more routinalized (teaching or administrative) tasks, standardizing what is learned, and tightening evaluation of uniform knowledge and action (Quoted in Herber, 1994).

The process of socialization is characterized by values that are necessary for the functioning of bureaucratic organization and the maintenance of social order - obedience, abiding by the rules, loyalty, respect for authority, punctuality, regular attendance, quietness, orderly work in large groups, working to a strict time-table, tolerance of monotony, and the ability to change from one situation to the next and ignoring of personal needs when these are irrelevant to the task at hand (Shipman, 1975; Shor, 1992; Herber, 1994). In such a highly structured classroom, the teacher exercises unquestioned authority in such matters as sitting arrangement and movement; initiates the activities to be pursued by the pupils and controls communication channels within the group. This kind of classroom environment has considerable influence on the political orientations of the students as a result of being forced to conform to an authoritarian system throughout childhood and adolescence, particularly when supplemented by other factors likely to encourage passive acceptance of authority in later years (Datta, 1984, p.40). Harber (1990) has claimed that shortages of teaching materials, very large classes, traditional forms of assessment, the unrealistic content of textbooks and a lack of training and motivation among teachers contribute to authoritarian teaching in social studies.

McMurtry (1988) has postulated that human societies have been traditionally characterized by taboo against questioning their established structures of social rule: a deep prejudice against which critical intelligence is posed as the bearer of humanity's education in the largest sense. Put differently, education is incarcerated within the role of an exhaustively prescribed social given. Indoctrination modeled on the catechistic format of schooling triumphs in the guise of teaching. In the schools, there is no right to or duty of academic freedom of teachers or students; and no right of appeal to authority of evidence and argument to determine what may be taught and learned. The matter is decided by authorities external to the subject discipline itself, and they normally caution against or rule out whatever might be perceived as a challenge to prevailing opinion and power. On the other hand, when teachers take it upon themselves to denounce anything that does challenge social opinion or power, their "freedom to speak" is apt to be unrestricted though their evidence and arguments be without shred of scholarly merit. It clearly follows that the pattern of prohibition and allowance here has nothing to do with upholding democratic values or academic standards, but rather the opposite: sacrificing democracy or academic standards to serve prevailing opinion. To what extent is critical inquiry desirable and valued therefore remains a delicate question.

The school system, like civilization, requires the philosophical tradition for value overview and criticism to enable its development into intellectual maturity. The schools are spiritually and pedagogically sapped by their failure of academic standards manifested through the pervasive boredom and apathy of the students and the cognitive closure and inertia of teachers. As a result, "[f]ear of controversy and guarantee of a captive audience leave the school system in a kind of medieval prison of hierarchical command and dogma where living inquiry and debate have not yet been given the space they require to breathe" (McMurtry, 1988).

However, Zeichner (1991) has argued that democracy can also be misguided in school community and become a setback to development. He has claimed that there are several potential dangers in community empowerment in the public schools. He contends that if democratic empowerment is taken to extreme, it can lead to a denial of teachers and administrators their roles in school policy making. One of the most important and difficult question that needs to be asked is: In the name of democratic community empowerment, what if communities desire and demand teachers who emphasize memorization and drill, absolute obedience to authority, and punitive discipline? In this case, should the right of communities to dictate policy be accepted no matter whether the demand is at variance with the judgments of professional educators' view on how to educate everyone's children for citizenship in a democratic society? According to Zeichner (1991) if the teachers succumb to such demands, they would eventually negate teachers' and administrators' visions for their schools. It appears that Zeichner (1991) had in mind a form or variant of democracy that did not depict genuine equal participation of the partners engaged in school-community relationship.

Sometimes, what communities may assert for their schools may be in conflict with principles of a democratic society, repressing particular points of view or discriminating against certain groups of people, for instance, a community may attempt to force the celebration of one group's religion on everyone in that school. It currently appears that arguments for teacher empowerment are viewed as a threat to either administrators' authority or to community empowerment and arguments for community empowerment are seen as threats to professional authority and to teacher empowerment. Following the principles of the critical alternative paradigm, it would be prudent to aim at realizing the school as a democratic community that recognizes the legitimate rights of all parties. At the secondary level, students would be included in the dialogue. The recognition of the rights of any particular group should not necessarily mean that the rights of others are denied. Hence, ways to create conditions within schools so that all groups can participate in a meaningful way in these deliberations need to be explored. All groups, especially students and parents need to be facilitated to acquire the awareness to assert their views in the face of claims of professional expertise in a broad rather than narrow view of school democracy. Most important among other restraints in preserving the rights of all within a society are (1) nonrepression, which prevents the use of education to "restrict rational deliberation of competing conceptions of the good life and the good society," (2) nondiscrimination, so that no child may be excluded from an education adequate to participation in the political processes that structure choice among good lives (Gutmann, 1987).

2.11. Critical perspectives on school organization

Bureaucracies tend to emphasize procedural and technical aspects, aimed at student performance to the detriment of discursive methods that would establish forms of community in schools. The development of intellectuals who can engage in administration with the aim of transformating the institutions as sites for dialogue and cultural spaces for the community is needed. Such administrators in a critical theoretic perspective would engage teachers in dialogue about the nature of schooling in a class-based society and about the possibilities of achieving democratic representation in such institutions. Feminists have argued that administration is fundamentally positivist and largely male-dominated. They contend that women are marginalized in responsible positions, which is largely tied to the suppression of women in the profession where "Old boy networks" tend to exclude women from appointment to administrative posts. Danylewycz and Prentice (1986) noted thus:

> Men and women are also distributed differently in the internal labor market: infant schools are strongly feminized, but secondary school science departments and school management are masculinized. There are many women teachers, but they are most commonly guided, directed, and controlled by men (p.138).

Schools are viewed by feminists as segregated pools of labor, organized on the basis of gender where men dominate all lines of positions in education and women are under represented in upper grades, subject areas, in administrative posts in schools, on teachers association executives, and in ministries of education; and that in addition, they make little money. School counselors also discourage girls from aspiring for some professional courses while they easily recommend to them what are claimed to be "feminine" courses like Home Economics. The curriculum and textbooks also marginalise, misrepresent, and relegate women to traditional roles. It appears, therefore, despite the stated objectives and legal requirements of educational systems, females have not benefited to the same extent as males. Administrative structures and practices that favored males, curriculum and resources that ignored females, and teachers who consciously or unconsciously paid more attention to males and their needs have been factors leading to inequality and female domination. The language, course content, and atmosphere of the school deliver different messages (Mulemwa, 1993; Meis, 1986; Gore, 1992; Gaskell et al, 1989).

The modern school organization continues to reward individualism more than community, competitiveness more than cooperation, and "justice" more than caring; each characteristic that is rewarded tends also to be associated with a male world view (Apple, 1993; McLaren, 1989). Feminists postulate that rather than considering administration in terms of "control", it should be considered as a "constructing" endeavor, one that attempts to build bonds between all parties involved in the schooling effort. Feminists argue that the current culture transmitted in schools is one saddled with a history of masculine domination and insensitivity to the needs of other groups. They contend that schools should become places of cultural transformation, for the raising of consciousness about issues of power and domination. This perspective also observes that the centralized bureaucratic nature of schooling in many countries contributes to a hierarchical model of administration more appropriate to the militaristic "father" image of conquest than it is to a more urgently needed "mother" image of support and nurturance. Schools, and administration should no longer be sites of training the young in the ways and means of securing world supremacy, but rather places for kindness, where the young are taught their own worth and the value of humans (McLaren, 1989). Apple's (1993) work suggests that schools and their administration be sites for the development of respectful relationships between adults and children, rather than the sites for control of others.

The project for critical alternative paradigm challenges administration with its bureaucratic control over institutions in favor of voluntaristic achievement of mutual goals identified with leadership. Leadership here denotes what Burns (1979) termed "transformational leadership", which seeks to raise the consciousness of followers with the goal of achieving real and intended changes. Such a leadership requires the voluntary cooperation of followers in a mission identified by both followers and leaders as one of significance. The emphasis in critical approaches has often been on the formation of democratic communities where decision-making is achieved through active (not manipulated) participatory involvement of all people.

2.12. Realities in teaching and professional identity

Hargreaves (1994) has insightfully argued that:

> to speak of the realities of teaching is to address the nature and organization of teaching not in terms of ideals, fantasies, models, or rhetoric, but in terms of the complex actuality of the work, and the day-to-day shape it takes with real teachers, in real-classrooms, in real schools. To speak of the realities of teaching, therefore, is to speak of teaching -descriptively, not prescriptively: of how it is, more than how it should be. It is to see teaching in a holistic manner, as complex interconnected sets of tasks, purposes, requirements, and constraints; rather than fragmented domains of knowledge, skills or motivation that can be addressed or improved in isolation. Understanding the realities of teaching and engaging with them effectively, therefore, entails understanding and engaging with what teachers actually do, rather than cajoling or exhorting them to do something better (Hargreaves, 1994, p.6208).

Educational reform, and teacher reform in particular, rarely recognize the realities of teaching. Efforts to improve the quality of teaching have tended to focus on characteristics of individuals, on knowledge, skill, and personal qualities - much more than on the patterns of work organization and leadership which limit or liberate teachers in their work. In the modernization paradigm, it is commonly argued or assumed that poor teaching quality tends to result from an absence of knowledge, skills or qualities in individuals. It implies a deficit model of teaching, where poor quality results from deficiencies in personality, gaps in learning, or weak matching of teachers' competencies to the tasks they are required to perform.

Teachers are not just technical learners, though; they are social learners too. As social learners, teachers actively interpret, make sense of, and adjust to the requirements their conditions of work place upon them. In this view, what some might judge to be poor teaching quality is often the result of reasoned and reasonable responses to the occupational demands: from interpretive presences, not cognitive absences; from strategic strength, not personal weakness. "Poor" teaching quality, in this respect, often results from poor work environments; enhanced work environments which are more collaborative and incorporate principles of recognition, reward, increase teachers' sense of efficacy and the degree of positive influence they exert on student achievement (Rosenholtz, 1989).

Political and administrative devices for bringing about educational change and improvement usually ignore, misunderstand, or override teachers' own desires. Change devices usually rely on principles of compulsion, constraint or contrivance to get teachers change. They presume that the standards are low and young people are failing or dropping out because the practice of many teachers is deficient or misdirected. The remedy for these deficits and deficiencies, politicians and administrators believe, needs to be a drastic one, calling for decisive devices of intervention and control to make teachers more skilled, more knowledgeable, and more accountable (Hargreaves, 1994). Yet, teachers modify their practices in conformance with their understanding of students with whom they work more so than in reaction to official policy (Marx and Collopy, 1994; Abagi and Cleghorn, 1990). Richardson (1991) has argued that an understanding of teachers and teaching requires an understanding of the minds of teachers and students. That it is the beliefs, theories, and understandings of teachers that underlie whatever predictability that will be found between student and teacher behavior. Teachers' perceptions of students are filtered through their belief systems and mediate their behavior. Teachers continually change their practice in response to students' needs and in reaction to the development of their own professional knowledge and expertise.

Teaching can be viewed as a matter of strategy; the ways in which teachers teach evolve as strategies to pursue purposes important to them. These strategies develop as ways of adjusting to the particular pressures, contingencies, and expectations of their environment. Where these pressures are extreme, teachers' strategies become desperate as a matter of sheer survival. Even in circumstances that are favorable, all teaching is in part a constructive trade-off (sometimes calculated, sometimes routine and taken for granted) between ideal purposes and practical realities. The connection of strategy to context is complex, for teachers' strategies are mediated by all kinds of other factors, such as the teachers' personal biography, career stage, educational purpose, and the ethos or institutional bias of the school. The context teachers' work in is extremely important in influencing teachers' actions and help to shape the coping strategies which characterize their work.

Professional commitment is described as the teacher's commitment to being knowledgeable, competent, and instructionally effective. In other words, it is about doing a good job. Book and Freeman (1986) have argued that in secondary school teaching, professional commitment is mainly invested in subject mastery and subject expertise. Commitment to teaching a subject is one of the main reasons why secondary teachers enter the profession. This has meant that care for individual students is less important for a teacher which is a repeated difficulty that afflicts the capacity of many secondary schools to become more caring communities for their students. Furthermore, subjects are not just intellectual communities but also social and political communities as well because, the argument goes, they bestow meaning and identity on those who teach in them. Hargreaves (1994) states that:

> Secondary teachers are socialized into subject identities and commitments as school and university students. The subject department is often more meaningful and visible community for them than that of the wider school. Subjects and their departments provide the major lines of career development and progression at the secondary school level. Proposals for curriculum integration which challenge teachers' subject are therefore construed as much more than rational attempts to reconstruct fields of knowledge and learning in tune with the needs and demands of contemporary times. They are also perceived and deeply experienced as threats to career, security, identity, and fundamental senses of competence. ... the fear of appearing incompetent in front of ones colleagues, is perhaps the most basic anxiety of all in teaching (Hargreaves, 1994, p.6209).

Proposals for curriculum integration therefore strike at fundamental and deep-seated realities of professional commitment, subject identities, and desires to retain competence among the teaching force.

Research on teachers' lives has a tendency of explaining the relationship between teachers' lives in a one-sided way: with life affecting the work but not vice versa. At its worst, this bias lends support to deficit-based explanations of teachers' problems when they may actually have their roots in the conditions and management of the work place (Ashton and Webb, 1986). What is worth noting is the fact that problems in the workplace can have a profound impact on life outside it. This can happen positively as well as negatively. Hence, there is a need for forging a bond between research on school improvement on the one hand and teachers' lives on the other; to see whether, in the long term, successful and innovative schools drain their teachers dry until nothing of their personal lives is left, or whether they enrich and energize those lives through the ways they generate personal enjoyment and fulfillment.

2.13. Theorizing on teaching: the critical/transformative paradigm

The critical alternative paradigm seeks to foster a problematic attitude on the part of prospective teachers towards existing institutional arrangements. Advocates of this paradigm argue that fostering the development of orientations and skills in the teaching of critical inquiry does not imply that technical skills of teaching are irrelevant. On the contrary, the logic underpinning this approach is that technical skill in teaching is to be highly valued not as an end it self, but as a means for bringing about desired ends (Zeichner, 1983). The prospective teacher is viewed as an active agent in his or her own preparation for teaching. Underlying this approach to teacher education is a metaphor of "liberation". A liberated person is one who is "free from the unwanted control of unjustified beliefs, unsupportable attitudes and the paucity of abilities which can prevent that person from completely taking charge of his or her life" (Siegel,1980:16).

The process of inquiry requires that prospective teachers problematize what is taken for granted about the role of teachers, the tasks of teaching and schooling in general. From this point of view, the task of teacher education is to develop prospective teachers' capabilities for reflective action and to help them to examine the moral, and political issues, that are embedded in their everyday thinking and practice. The teaching of technical skills associated with inquiry (e.g., observation skills) and the fostering of a disposition toward a critical inquiry (a "critical spirit") becomes the axis around which the preparation revolves. The development of technical skills in teaching and the mastery of content knowledge is always addressed within this broader framework of critical inquiry and viewed as a process of mastery that will bring about worthwhile ends. The whole question of both teacher educators and their students from this point of view is in determining which education goals, educational experiences, and institutional arrangements lead towards forms of life that are mediated by justice, equality and concrete happiness; existing practices within both the schools and the university are scrutinized for their contributions to these ends (Zeichner, 1983).

Critical theorists contend that the values most teachers use in teaching are of the elitist dominant culture which were internalized during their socialization (Bowles and Gintis, 1976; Freire, 1970; Shor, 1992). This, in part, accounts for teachers' inability to criticize ideological shortcomings that close their opportunities for empowering the students. The views teachers hold towards the students sometimes lapse into liberal pity that is incompatible with the critical frame of reference necessary to examine school situations. McLaren (1979) argues that a pedagogy that is dominated by the values of the dominant class spiced with liberal doses of humanism render the teachers ineffective in educating community members and students about how power relations in society work under a dominant regime of truth. Macedo (1986) has attributed it to teachers' inclination to the degree that they have invested in the system that rewards them for reproducing dominant mechanisms designed to produce power asymmetries along the lines of race, gender, class, culture and ethnicity. To overcome this, teachers would require to make a conscientious effort to link symbolic resistance to the goal of empowerment, and to treat curriculum as a form of cultural politics.

The analysis by critical theorists of the economic and cultural reproduction process helps us to understand the powerful socialization functions the schools perform for society. Their perspective is to direct us to question the feasibility of educational reform divorced from societal reform. However, the problem with this language of critique tends to generate a discourse of pessimism and despair in which actions by teachers and students to create change in the face of pervasive social, economic, and cultural forces seem hopelessly futile and naive (Giroux, 1984; Bell & Schniedewind, 1987). Influenced by works of Gramsci (1971) and Freire (1985) some critical theorists have realized that a mere description of economic, cultural and structural reproduction is inadequate without going beyond mechanistic determinism that students are prepared to fit into designated pigeonholes in a stratified and unequal labor force (Apple, 1982; Leggo, 1992; Bell & Schniedewind, 1987). Giroux (1988), McLaren, (1989) and Apple (1982) have maintained that schools do not merely reproduce dominant social relations and interests, as Bowles and Gintis' (1976) rather mechanistic correspondence theory posited, but are also socially constructed sites of contestation, actively involved in the production of lived experiences. This creates spaces for progressive teachers to play a transformative role in schools and society, and challenges critical theorists to develop guidelines for more effective critical pedagogical strategies "that involve students as members of a learning community to counteract current methods that isolate and treat them as individual consumers competing for grades" (Bell & Schniedewind, 1987).

In most cases, disempowered teachers produce their like except in some cases where some teachers and students have resisted and rebelled against the whole process of "indoctrination", "stupidification" (Macedo, 1993), and toxification (Brookfield, 1986). This is possible with a teaching force whose training is rooted in Antonio Gramsci's view of a teacher as a transformative organic intellectual who takes the stance of a revolutionary character and moral content of the work of Paulo Freire (Torres, 1994; Kozol, 1972; Shor, 1986). The empowerment of teachers within their profession and the promotion of professional development of teachers are now regarded as primary strategies for revitalizing the teaching profession. Teachers themselves, not others acting for them, must take control over their professionalism and evaluate their own work if an impulse towards greater quality education is to be generated. Several ways of supporting teachers include "the teacher as a researcher". Here the teacher is seen as an organizer of professional growth, who asks relevant questions about his or her teaching, collects data, analyses his or her own work, comes to personally and contextually embedded conclusions, and in so doing creates a greater awareness and impetus for action. Collaborative teams of teachers, who study their teaching and work together in order to learn about themselves is viewed as a fruitful strategy. The benefits of teacher research to teachers and students are well documented (Rudduck, 1985; Queenan, 1988; Kincheloe, 1991; Goswami and Stillman, 1987). These include an increased sense of professionalism, the intellectualizing of and control over their work, and the modeling of how to learn and the ability to reflect critically on their own teaching. Students benefit because their needs become the focus of teachers and through the development of a community of learners with teachers, they gain increased ownership of their work. Teachers can enrich their pedagogical knowledge by engaging in inquiry and reflection that contributes to raise their perceptiveness and professional growth (Liston and Zeichner, 1990; Tillema, 1994; Villar, 1994; Schon, 1987). Reflective teaching refers to a process of critical analysis whereby teachers develop logical reasoning skills, thoughtful judgment, and attitudes supportive of reflection. Reflective teaching and teacher education favor curriculum integration. Educators argue that an interdisciplinary curriculum increases student teachers' motivation, enables the learners to confront problems that are ignored by separate disciplines, and relates educational curriculum and research to student teacher's own insights, reflections, and judgments (Villar, 1994).

In 1967, John Stuart Mill drew a distinction between a wide meaning of 'education' as - "whatever helps to make the individual what he is, or hinders him from being what he is not" (cited in Harris, 1982). This is still consistent with the role of education as Freire (1970) contended that it has both liberative and oppressive power; emancipating as it disowns and destroys some; privileges and deprives others at the same time (Simmons, 1980: Lulat, 19882; 1988; Bacchus, 1981). The teachers' work, which involves conscious and unconscious processes and effects, is both shaped within, and in turn shapes, relations of power. Teachers' practice in economic and cultural production creates asymmetries in individuals' and groups' capabilities to define and realize their needs. Teachers' work is therefore political action because, consciously or unconsciously, it serves to conform or contest the prevailing social order (Seddon, 1994; Mclaren, 1989). The essence of education in which a teacher is the primary agent should be to cultivate an inquiring mind which proceeds by posing questions: by interrogating subject matters or reality itself so as to lay underlying connections or structures bare.

Such question-posing becomes critical when it not only reveals the shape or nature of what is, but also reveals what is problematic; it calls for a reconstruction of position or fact to achieve some more adequate understanding or action. But this would require an environment that is non-authoritarian and non-repressive or (organized institutional and state structural violence) (McMurtry, 1988).

In the context of contributing effectively to national development, Ugandan teachers clearly need to be challenged to consider the possibilities of a critical and reflective paradigm of teaching and learning. However, while there is an emergent body of research on teaching in Uganda, including theses conducted by Makerere University graduate students in Education, the predominant thrust and methodological orientation of such research have been shaped by the modernization paradigm. This perspective has not given adequate space to teachers' voices to narrate their lived experiences and stories regarding their daily realities, and how this shaped their lives and work. It was, therefore, timely to design a research study that does not take modernization principles for granted, and which facilitates teachers in thinking through the everyday realities of their profession and exploring the relationships of those realities with wider societal dimensions of development.

CHAPTER 3

METHODOLOGY

3.1. Introduction

Qualitative methods are generally supported by the interpretivist paradigm, which portrays a world in which reality is socially constructed, complex, and ever-changing. Researchers oriented to this methodology deal with multiple, socially constructed realities or "qualities" that are complex and indivisible into discrete variables. They regard their research task as coming to understand and interpret how the various participants in a social setting construct the world around them. To make their interpretations, the researcher must gain the multiple perspectives of the participants. In this methodology, the researcher is the principal instrument through conducting observations, asking questions, and interactions with the research participants. The concern with researcher objectivity is replaced by a focus on the impact of subjectivity on the research process (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). As Mill (1959) critically observes, if humans are studied in a symbolically reduced, statistically aggregated fashion, there is a danger that conclusions, although mathematically precise, may fail to fit reality.

This study used a qualitative research design. This methodology was deemed most suitable for the study partly because of the nature of the research problem that was under investigation. It was also the methodology most consonant with my socialized world view. I was attracted to and shaped a research problem that matches my personal view of seeing and understanding the world (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992). As Schwandt (1989) posits:

> Our construction of the world, our values, and our ideas about how to inquire into those constructions, are mutually self reinforcing. We conduct inquiry via a particular paradigm because it embodies assumptions about the world that we believe and values that we hold, and because we hold those assumptions and values we conduct inquiry according to precepts of that paradigm (p.399). (Quoted in Glesne & Peshkin, 1992).

I therefore found qualitative methods most appropriate for this research since they are helpful to uncover and understand what lies behind the "complexity, the contradictions, and the sensibility of social interactions" (Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p.6) of any phenomenon. Qualitative methods were able to give intricate detailed reflective insights into the problem I investigated, insights which would have been difficult to elicit and convey with quantitative research methods. As a participant noted:

> *a questionnaire ... leaves many things desired. Clarification is not there, when someone is answering it he may not be bothered, how can I be sure that what he has gathered is going to be useful, such things* [HM; August 9, 1995].

Another participant was in favor of a questionnaire as she proposed that:

> *I would suggest that where possible maybe you could give us questionnaires such that one looks at the questions and looks for the possible answers. Because really I don't know but at times you find maybe thinking quite hard and the mind is tuned elsewhere*[TR; August 9, 1995].

Through teachers' narratives, therefore, it was in creating the more detailed understanding of teachers' beliefs, conceptions, and attitudes that qualitative research methods were very helpful. Focus group interviews, in-depth one-to-one interviews, observations, document analysis were used to gather data for the study.

3.2. Research questions

In delineating the parameters which guided the questions, interviews, and the discussions, the Ugandan context where communication and interaction has its own unique cultural patterns was put into consideration. The research question and the following supporting questions under various themes, therefore, were conceived to guide the study: What is the perceived and actual role of teachers in their contribution to national development in Uganda?

(i) Teachers professional identity: (1) What do teachers consider to be the sources of their professional identity? (2) How do teachers conceptualize their own learning to become teachers? (3) What are the teachers' views on their training in preparing them relevantly, competently and effectively to respond to needs of national development? (4) In what ways do teachers feel they were empowered during their preservice or inservice professional education in order to be able to facilitate their students' empowerment towards active citizenship for national development? (5) In which ways do teachers feel attached to the teaching profession? (6) What possibilities do teachers see in professionally playing the role of transformative intellectuals and undertaking the tasks and responsibilities of a critical paradigm of teaching?

(ii) Life in Schools: (1) How democratic is the school climate (including dimensions of authority, discipline, gender, socioeconomic differences and ethnicity) for bringing up citizens who are empowered and experience lived principles of justice, equity, cultural respect and human rights? (2) What are the pedagogical inclinations of the teachers in secondary schools? (3) To what extent, and in what ways, do teachers participate in planning decisions of the curriculum they teach? (4) What is the teachers' view of the administrative dimensions of schooling?

(iii) School and Community: (1) What kind of relationships do teachers feel exists and should exist between the school and the community? (2) In which way does school preserve and contribute to the development of indigenous/local cultures of Uganda? (3) What kind of knowledge do teachers think they acquired or should acquire during their professional preservice or inservice preparation that helps them to participate in community development? (4) In which way is vocationalization making schools more linked to the community?

(iv) Conceptualizing Societal Development: (1) In which ways does the perception of teachers, school administrators, and policy makers influence societal development? (2) In which ways do teachers, school administrators and policy makers consider education to be relevant to the needs of societal development? (3) What are the teachers', school administrators' and policy makers' paradigmatic orientation(s) towards education? (4) In which ways do teachers view themselves contributing to the building of a more self-reliant, democratic, just, and peaceful society?

3.3. Scope and sampling

This study mainly concentrated on Makerere University graduate trained teachers, teaching in 5 secondary schools situated in the southern geographical region of Uganda, taking into account both aspects of rural/marginalized, remote countryside and urban setting. As earlier noted, Makerere University constitutes the primary source of secondary trained teachers in Uganda. However, in selected schools where it was found that Makerere University graduate trained teachers did not exist, the teachers who were sustaining those schools and mainly from National Teachers' Colleges (NTCs) were included in the study in order to reflect that aspect of reality obtaining in the environments of those schools and the communities where they were located. A total of 43 teachers were purposively selected, 27 from two urban and 16 from three rural located schools (including school administrators). The schools in a typical urban setting that were explored in the study found in Kampala city, were, Standard High School and Ndoona Girls SSS (Senior Secondary School). The rural areas were those located far away and deep in parts which are characterized by poverty and other facets of marginalization; Bunono SSS. in Rubale District and Muduma SSS. and Mirama SSS. both in remote up-country district locations. The real names of participants and schools that took part in the study are not used in order to protect their identity. Hence, respondents are identified by pseudonyms. Following is table I showing participant teachers according to schools that participated in the study:

Table I

Teacher participants according to schools

School	Male	Female	Total
Ndoona Girls SSS	11	4	15
Standard H.S.	5	7	12
Muduma SSS	5	1	6
Mirama SSS	5	-	5
Bunono SSS	5	-	5
Total	**31**	**12**	**43**

* This table includes school administrators among the teachers

Since teachers in some schools displayed a diverse range of differences in terms of ethnicity, subject specialty, seniority or/and gender, I decided, as part of purposive sampling, to consider how best I could take care of such differences after weighing implications each one of them might have had for the results. But consideration was given to these variations for purposes of establishing balanced representation in the focus groups and those who later on participated in in-depth interviews . The teachers who participated in in-depth interviews were purposively selected from the teachers who took part in the focus group interviews.

Participation in the focus groups, as earlier mentioned, was based mainly on the basis of gender, subject specialty, seniority and ethnicity stressing diversity in representation. Some schools which were selected from rural areas did not have female teachers on their staff. In some cases, rural located schools had less than three female teachers. In such situations I included all female teachers in the study but due to individual personal problems, some were not able to participate. The small female population in the sample particularly in the rural located schools seemed partly to reflect imbalances in the distribution of female teachers in the country. Possibly, this could be explained in terms of the "difficult" conditions devoid of modern social amenities available in towns which teachers held responsible for making remotely situated schools less attractive to teachers. Teaching at secondary level reflected more male than female teachers even in a single sex girls' school like Ndoona. Table II shows gender distribution of teachers among schools which participated in the study.

Table II

Number of teachers according to schools

School	Male	Female	Total
Ndoona Girls SSS	34	21	55
Standard H.S.	55	43	98
Muduma SSS	18	2	20
Mirama SSS	14	3	17
Bunono SSS	7	1	8
Total	**128**	**70**	**198**

A total of 6 teacher educators from the School of Education at Makerere University 1 from National Teachers' College (NTC), and 1 from Institute of Teacher Education Kyambogo (ITEK) also participated in the study. The number of policy makers mainly from the Ministry of Education and Sports and other educationists was 10. These provided supplementary information to that of the primary informants (teachers in the five schools). Thus, there were a total of 61 participants in this study. Table III presents all the participants in the study:

Tabale III

All participants in the study

Category	Male	Female	Total
Teachers	30	7	37
Teacher Educators	4	4	8
Sch. Administrators	3	3	6
Policy makers	7	3	10
Total	**44**	**17**	**61**

This study also benefited from views of several participants who were taking part in other forums. For instance, views of participants in a conference on Education for all were a significant resource to this study. A one day workshop in Masaka on "Corporal Punishment and Defilement" for primary teachers in municipality schools was also insightful, and a two days seminar for secondary school teachers in Kampala schools.

Given the time that was available to conduct the study, it was considered prudent to confine the study to one region of the country which in this case was the southern part of Uganda. The reason why I chose this region is that it is an area I am reasonably familiar with compared to the other parts of the country. I was even in position to understand and speak some of the language dialects used in the Southern region. This enabled me to establish a rapport in the school setting and the community in a minimum period of time that it would have been in another region.

3.4. Gaining entry into the field

From the University of Alberta, a letter was written to introduce me to the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. I was provided a temporary clearance to begin the field research pending the processing of the identity card through the Presidents' Office. However, in the schools where the study was conducted, no school administrator asked whether I had permission or not. They relied on my personal introduction and credibility. I sought permission to visit the staff room to establish an informal rapport with members of staff particularly at tea break when most of the teachers would be around and free from class. I declined official introduction to teachers by school administrators. The purpose was to avoid a top-down approach of entering the research site with high sounding and formal introductions by the administration. Teachers tended to be willing to participate in the study except when my time coincided with the school general time table. The process involved presenting oneself ordinarily and simply as much as possible although in one school, I was told that I did not look like a Ph.D. candidate because I was dressed in a T-shirt and flat shoes. I was told I should be dressed in a suit and carrying a sizable brief-case. However, for visits to policy makers, simple attire did not achieve entry as I had expected. In some cases it required formal dressing so as to meet the expectations of the respondents and making them feel it was worth spending their time talking to me. Otherwise, at first, the secretary in one office denied me access to her boss mistaking me for a journalist who wanted to write a story about her boss. It therefore clicked in my mind that formal dress for such a setting would be required which proved to work out in subsequent visits.

3.5. Focus group interviews

A focus group is an interview style designed for small groups, under the guidance of a moderator or a facilitator whose primary task is to draw out information from the participants. The focus group structure was intended to encourage participants to speak freely the attitudes, opinions, values and beliefs they possess (Berg, 1995). In this study, I used six focus groups in five different schools. The informants in these groups included non-university graduate teachers. Participants were selected according to certain characteristics they had in common that could benefit the study particularly their training background and willingness to participate in the study. Participation in the study also depended on how the school's general timetable conveniently allowed teachers to take part in the study. I endeavored to create a permissive environment in the focus groups that made it possible for me to elicit different perceptions and point of views, without pressuring the participants to reach consensus. The aim of the focus group interviews was to establish and identify trends and patterns in the perceptions, beliefs, and actions of the participants in relation to national development goals.

Before proceeding to do another focus group discussion, I preliminarily analyzed the data collected from the previous one. This analysis enabled me to discover questions and to modify those I asked in future interviews (Spradley, 1987, p.92). Glesne & Peshkin (1992) noted that context-bound questions emerge along with unexpected patterns and new understandings through the evolutionary nature of qualitative inquiry. Towards the end, I provided the participants with summaries of the previous focus group discussions to revisit them for purposes of validation, authenticity and credibility. Whenever they said, "that is not what I meant," then I was in a position to tap what they considered to be their most authentic views at that moment. After focus group and in-depth interviews in all schools, a seminar was conducted to share with all the participants preliminary outcomes, patterns and trends that were emerging from the research study. The intention was to create further opportunity to validate some of the views expressed in earlier interviews.

3.6. In-depth interviews

The focus group interviews were used to help me to identify the sample for in-depth interviews. In-depth interviews were sought with 8 teachers (2 from each school) as the principal participants in the study. To meet the time constraints, only this small number of the sampled teachers were concentrated on in in-depth interviews. A purposive sampling strategy enabled the 8 individual interviewees selected to reflect possible differences due to gender, region of origin, and age. In-depth interviews also allowed me the opportunity to explore issues that focus groups would have been inhibited to discuss. What one participant pointed out in one focus group confirmed this belief:

> *Well, there are some topics which can be discussed by the whole group - the teaching staff for example here, and in most cases they can be general but there are also some topics where an individual is supposed to be reserved because you cannot be studied deeply to the extent that you know that you are a safe person* [TR; August 24, 1995].

In preparing for the interviews, I drew from the existing knowledge of the research topic which helped me to determine a list of likely and useful information in preparing the questions. Efforts were made to interview the informants at least two or three times. I used open-ended interviews or unstructured interviews similar in format to the focus groups. This took a "conversation with purpose approach" which was "non-directive". It facilitated and allowed flexibility, a freer response and modification of questions and even the pursuit of new and unexpected topics that proved relevant to the study. It took the form of dialogue between the researcher and the informant so that a real exchange of views took place. When the informants asked questions about the researcher and what the research was all about I willingly explained to them. This established and enhanced the relationship while at the same time it increased cooperation (Spradley, 1987, p.92).

Interviews were also used to gather supplementary data from informants that would not easily be possible to access in focus groups. Headmasters were interviewed since their inclusion in focus groups could have inhibited teachers' free interaction and expression of their views. It was also assumed, and as it proved to be the case, that time would not allow Head teachers to fit in focus group schedules. These interviews also included some Ministry of Education officials and members of related organizations like the Teaching Service Commission (TSC), National Curriculum Development Center (NCDC), members of the faculty in the School of Education, including the Dean and some of the Heads of departments. One of the National Resistance Movement (NRM) secretariat officials, the Deputy Political Commissor participated in the study as an interviewee. As the political organ of the government in power, it was expected to provide the study with the political ideology the NRM. government was currently following. The NRM views were to inform the study as to how the teaching profession was being utilized to realize the NRM development program, and any problems therein.

3.7. Participant observation

Some participant observation of the sample of teachers was carried out as they undertook their day to day work in schools. These observations were follow-ups on questions which arose from the focus groups and in-depth interviews as part of the validity process by cross-checking how the professed values and beliefs synchronized with the actual actions of the participants in their social context. The advantage of this method was that I was able to carry it out unobtrusively, and I did not entirely depend on the willingness of any particular participants to report on their behavior (Berg, 1995; LeCompte & Preissle, 1993; Whyte; 1979). But for purposes of ethical considerations, I endeavored to discuss my observations with any particular observed participant before I left the site of the study. In doing so, I sought their opinions aimed at validating my observations according to the individual actor in his or her setting as viewed by the participant's perception of reality.

3.8. Documents analysis

Information provided from the teachers was further supplemented with data from documentary analysis and archives. Most of the materials were sought by myself in the libraries in my home country Uganda. Access to some documents required permission obtainable from the National Research Council and Technology to authorize me to conduct research in Uganda. Document analysis involved a comparison of data from primary documents like the Education Policy Review Commission Report (EPRC, 1992) and a Report of the Curriculum Review Task Force, 1993; Report of The School Charges Review Task Force; NRM Ten Point Program; and the Constitution of the Republic of Uganda. Other documents included secondary documents mainly local news papers, *The Monitor* and *The New Vision* which provided supplementary information to corroborate data and to provide some background information.

3.9. Ethics and recording procedure

All respondents were assured of confidentiality and anonymity in all phases of the research, and informed of their right to withdraw at any time. During interviews and focus group discussions as well as any photographic activity, the informants were asked for their permission to have the conversations recorded or photographs taken. The normal procedures to obtain official approval from the Ugandan Ministry of Education, National Research Council and the sampled schools, as well as an ethics review approval from the Faculty of Education, University of Alberta, were also undertaken before commencing the study. It was also for ethical reasons that pseudonyms were used instead of real names of human being participants and the schools involved. For people whose names continue to feature in the study unconcealed were only those expressing their views in public like in a conference, or in the press.

3.10. Data analysis

The interpretation and analysis of the data were guided by the available theoretical and empirical works of literature on the teaching profession in relation to the work of teachers both in the school and the community as social change agents in AN effort to create a humane, democratic and just society. The approach was descriptive-interpretative, aiming at presenting an interpretation of reality as it was lived in its natural setting, that is, as the participants saw and lived it in the school and the community. Thick description was effectively utilized because of its known advantages like, in part, connecting individual cases to larger public issues and to the programs or institutions that serve as linkage between individual problems and public concerns (Denzin, 1989). As Denzin (1989) noted:

> Thick description evokes emotionality and self-feelings. It inserts history into experience. It establishes the significance of, or the sequence of events, for the person or persons in question. In thick description, the voices, actions, and meanings of interacting individuals are heard (p.83).

The data was also subjected to critical analysis by reading the word and the world with an effort to translate social experiences and to construct narratives. In this regard, the earlier discussed conceptual framework provided several themes and issues for critical understanding and analysis of the views of the teachers. My experience in the Ugandan context in which a teacher worked and lived everyday creating history were put into consideration as part of the reality. As Ellen, 1984, p.10) postulates:

> The current view is more of one in which field "experiences" are "transformed" into data through encounters between researcher and researched; they are translated from one cultural context to another; and they are constructed" drawing from the personal and intersubjectivities of those involved (quoted in Glesne & Peshkin, 1992, p.11).

In the presentation of the findings, it was thought prudent to italicize interview data and in cited form respectively. For instance, ST = for student; TR = for teacher; HM = head-master/mistress (or principal or head teacher/school administrator) and; PM = for policy makers. Date and month were used to provide further identification of different interviews. As earlier noted, the actual names of the real participants are not used in the study.

3.11. Reliability and validity

Reliability refers to the degree of consistency, or, whether it can be relied upon to produce the same results when used by someone else. The problem of replicability, however, lies in the possibility of change (Murphy, 1980). Change in the results thus may be due either to the unreliability of technique/instrument used or to change in the phenomenon being observed since human beings evolve and the study is situationally based on a social phenomenon. A combination of methods were used to corroborate each piece of data to reduce error in order to increase reliability (Murphy, 1980). The information obtained during focus group interviews and in-depth interviews was cross checked against those found in documents, and through observation. Where discrepancies arose, clarification was sought through a subsequent interview.

Validity refers to the extent observations and statements are true reflections of reality and measure what is to be measured. The term also denotes the credibility, authenticity, and trustworthiness in explaining phenomena. Reason and Rowan (1981) advise borrowing concepts of validity from traditional research but caution us to revise and expand those concepts in ways appropriate to an "interactive dialogic logic" (p.240). Their notion of validity is captured in the phrase "objectively subjective" inquiry (p.xiii). Guba and Lincoln (1981) suggest that in order to fulfill the minimum requirement for assessing validity in new paradigm research the techniques of triangulation, reflexivity, and member checks should be enlisted. Lather (1986) similarly draws in big part from Guba and Lincoln (1981) to build her argument that:

> ... we must build the following into our research design:
> -triangulation of *methods, data sources*, and other *theories*
> -reflective subjectivity (some documentation of how the researcher's assumptions have been affected by the logic of the data)
> -face validity (established by recycling categories, emerging analysis, and conclusions back through at least a subsample of respondents)
> -catalytic validity (some documentation that the research process has led to insight and, ideally, activism on the part of the respondents) (p.78).

Building on these views, it was possible for the reconceptualization of validity appropriate for research that is openly committed to a more just social order (Lather, 1991). Careful recording of the focus groups and in-depth interviews and most importantly sensitive development of trust and rapport between myself and study participants to a great extent ensured the authenticity, credibility, and trustworthiness of the data (Borg and Gall, 1996). At the end of the study, the findings will also be made available to the participants as part of the catalytic validating process of the study and also as a feedback to them. Ultimately, the criterion for validity and reliability is the usefulness of the study to readers and participants in the setting - whether it holds up as a source of understanding of the situation for the former and as mirror of experience for the latter (Ramsoomair, 1981: 91). In this regard, one or two seminars and workshops will be a major aspect of the follow up to give back to the participants the findings of the study. This might be one of the bridges I envisage to the social transformation in education in Uganda.

3.12. Difficulties and problems encountered during the study

One of the difficulties encountered was to be granted permission to start the research. This was basically due to bureaucratic formalities which took a lot of time waiting for letters and files to be exchanged from office to another. It only required some patience and constantly reminding them that time was not on my side. However, requesting for a temporary clearance pending the actual research identity card solved a lot of problems until one day a policy maker refused to recognize it, saying that I was "conducting research illegally". He challenged my documents from the National Research Council and Technology that they were not authentic to allow me to do research. Since these were the only documents the council could give me, I had no alternative but to postpone interviewing him. However, later on, I approached him and the interview was cordial, after explaining to him that I was soon leaving for Canada and the President's Office had not yet released the research identity card.

It was also a bit of a problem to conduct focus groups in the schools that took part in the study. The main reason for this was that the general time-table dictated terms. It was therefore difficult to realize the number of teachers to form an intended focus group at a time they would be free from their teaching obligations. This was an important consideration in order to cause minimum interruption in the school setting or conflict with the administration.

In connection with the school time table, when a teacher finished teaching his/her lessons in one school, there was no time to spare for an interview since he/she would be rushing to a part-time work in another school or to attend a small business to supplement the inadequate salary. The economic conditions teachers worked under, therefore, presented a problem to the study. It caused me several postponements of scheduled interviews as appointments were made but unfulfilled. The same difficulty was experienced with some policy makers who, because of some abrupt meetings or journeys, could not keep the appointments as scheduled. Such abrupt changes in appointments just required patience and rescheduling. However, some of the policy makers would avoid the interviews until I would give up myself. In such cases, I would seek alternative persons who were more cooperative and willing to be interviewed.

During the trips up-country, life at times would be difficult. For instance, in some cases, it would involve walking several miles on a very hot sunny day in unfamiliar terrain. At times, it was hard to predict the weather and it would start raining. This was taken lightly as an experience that was part of the contemporary realities in which education was taking place in Uganda, and therefore, part of the study.

In the actual interviewing process itself, I did not time myself. I took the liberty to converse with the participant(s) at length. This was strategically adopted simply because I was not confident with my interviewing skills. I therefore decided to interview at times for three hours. It proved expensive in terms of tapes, and time in terms of transcribing the information. It also yielded too much data that posed difficulties of discriminating what not to use and what to use in the study. I also became so much attached to the data that I felt that failure to use it all would be like discriminating against a human being who sacrificed his/her time to grant me an interview. I have a belief that behind every voice recorded, there is a living human being. I have treated them with most care possible so that parts of the information that could not be included in this study might live to be utilized in another one. With that view in mind, I stopped haunting myself that I excluded some people from the study. Nevertheless, the majority of the respondents' voices were given space in the study by picking on the most pertinent statements of the respondents.

I realized that in some cases, the recording equipment did not work at certain times when conducting an interview. This was due merely to poor my operating skills. However, my research assistant took detailed notes of the interviews which were helpful in revisiting and reflecting on such interviews, and were very useful in formulating questions for subsequent interviews.

CHAPTER 4

TEACHERS' PROFESSIONAL IDENTITY

Good teachers must be intellectual guerrillas trying to create a generation of hard-working, ethically-motivated and effective rebels

Jonathan Kozol

4.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to explore views of teachers and the way in which they identified themselves professionally as teachers. The aim, therefore, was to establish: beliefs and practices teachers considered to be the sources of their professional identity; how they conceptualized their own learning to become teachers; their views on training and being prepared relevantly, competently and effectively to respond to needs of national development; the extent teachers felt they were empowered during their preservice, and in-service professional education in order to be able to facilitate their students' empowerment towards active citizenship for national development; the extent they felt attached to the teaching profession; and possibilities they envisaged themselves playing the role of organic transformative intellectuals and undertaking the tasks and responsibilities of a critical paradigm of teaching. In the following pages are the findings through teachers' narratives of their experiences, beliefs and views.

4.2. Sources of teachers' beliefs, attitudes and practices

As more recent theorists and researchers in teacher education have noted, teachers' professional identity is shaped by a complexity of personal, community and institutional forces. In order to establish why teachers held certain beliefs and attitudes and acted in certain ways and not others, participants narrated their views and experiences that chronicled their lived reality. For instance Baguma shared his beliefs that:

> *As a teacher and right from my training I had always seen a teacher as the backbone of development - all sorts of development in a country. But when*

> *I joined the field I somehow discovered that a teacher is always under-rated right from the grassroots up almost all to the highest levels. ... a teacher is the one responsible for shaping the economists, the politicians, ... I was wondering as to why he should be oppressed in such a way* [TR; August 9, 1995].

Baguma was disillusioned by teaching because it was not viewed favorably as a serious profession by some people inside it and some outside it. He also viewed a teacher as an instrument that shaped people in responsible positions. Yet these people who had been shaped by a teacher seemed not to live up to a teacher's expectations in terms of serving public interests. For Baguma, shaping implied preparing the citizens to take on their roles in society. What kind of values and practices were they imbued with, whether economists, politicians or a diverse range of other educated Ugandans? Schooling in which a teacher is viewed as instrumental should not be taken for granted since there is a strong likelihood of nurturing individualism, selfishness and lack of concern for values of love, justice, equality and compassion for the majority of human beings. Bakebwa, who similarly believed that teaching was looked down upon, put the following challenge to me in one of the focus group discussions:

> *I would like to inquire from you. Have you tried to observe that nowadays some parents despite the fact that they have never gone to school ... They don't wish their children to become teachers. Yet what they want their children to become is a teacher who has to teach it to them. ... What could have brought ... the devaluation of the present teacher?*[TR; August 24, 1995].

Bakebwa felt that the teaching profession had depreciated both in prestige and value as evidenced by inadequate remuneration. As one professor of education humorously noted, "*... even the Pope who preaches about the wonders of heaven is not willing to go there. Similarly, those who talk about how teaching is a noble profession never even wish their children to become teachers.*" [Conference Participant; Nov. 15, 1995]. Teachers felt that parents, students and the public at large looked down upon them. The views expressed by a teacher and a professor infer that teaching and teachers identified, both themselves and by the wider public with poverty and inferiority in relation to other professions. There was also a feeling from Bakebwa that there continued to be a process of systematic devaluation and erosion of the status, prestige a teacher used to enjoy in the past which has made teaching unattractive to parents and students although it is still acclaimed as a noble profession. Could it be that schooling and what it used to stand for in the past decades is depreciating in value and relevance?

Bekunda, a school administrator and at the same time a practicing classroom teacher, believed that a teacher is instrumental in the education system:

> *Aware that a teacher is instrumental in the education system and even in modeling the character of an individual and ... very little if any has ever been thought of uplifting and restoring the plight of a teacher?... Why has really the government never taken trouble to remunerate us - because we are really instrumental* [HM; August 24, 1995].

Bekunda identified a teacher with the central or key role of modeling the future generation. He also felt that a teacher's remuneration did not reflect that his/her services were appreciated the way it should be. As Bacchus (1996: 85) has noted, "because of the low prestige of the [teaching] profession in most developing countries, many teachers are also likely to have a fairly negative image of their role, along with an inadequate appreciation of the value of their work."

Somya, a teacher educator, identified a novice teacher as one afraid:

> *We really don't like being watched while doing certain things and particularly in teaching. You wouldn't like somebody to watch while you are teaching even when that person is a colleague and you are at the same footing. ... But when we do begin teaching there is that tension we initially have. And you and I when we started teaching, the very first year you begin teaching is very different from what you are after five years of teaching experience. And without consciousness,... you may again lapse back into the methods you are expected to use at that level. That is why I am saying that many of these teachers are involving the children when you go to their classrooms that is what they are doing. They go there, they ask them to answer questions, they are really involving them. But then, that comes gradually* [TE;September 20, 1995].

The fact that a teacher would not wish to be watched teaching is indicative of his or her value of autonomy which functions to promote the "ethos of privacy" (Descombe, 1982). As shared concerns become individualized as private concerns, privacy becomes valued as a source of teacher autonomy" (Britzman, 1986).

The act of merely asking students questions also should not be taken as synonymous with pedagogical strategies that elicit student participation and empowerment. The teacher's questions may follow a straight jacket, unilinear type that tacitly leads the students into predetermined forms of mechanistic thinking or responses. Hence, expecting certain questions to be framed and asked in a certain way, and expecting certain responses to particular questions may not necessarily foster critical thinking among the students that would lead to empowerment and emancipatory learning and conscientization (Kozol, 1982; Freire, 1970; Fien, 19991). It also identifies such a teacher with the traditionalist paradigm that prepares prospective teachers to fit smoothly into existing teaching roles and encourages the continued acceptance of the educational, political, and social contexts in which teaching now occurs (Liston and Zeichner, 1988). Somya also implied in her views the element of apprenticeship, whereby recruits in teaching were expected to learn on the job as they practiced to implement a hegemonic ideology that saw all curriculum and teaching problems as technical ones (Giroux, 1981).

Nonetheless, the view that the very first year of teaching tends to be very different from what one would be after five years of teaching experience has some truth. Shkedi (1996) is of a similar view that "[t]he more a teacher gains experience, the more his/her professional knowledge is enriched, allowing him/her to better understand new situations and deal with them more successfully." However, gaining experience need not be taken for granted. It could be gaining experience in teaching a particular thing in a bad way repetitively for many times without necessarily approaching it with imagination, creativity, innovation or originality. It may also mean that one is graduating from being a novice teacher and its expectations and has now been assimilated into the work culture of the old teachers who may not hesitate to pressure new teachers to slow down in accordance with the pace established by the work group as Ben-Peretz and Kremer-Hayon's (1990) study revealingly tell:

> As a new teacher, I came to this school with my own expectations and my own educational goals. During the first months of teaching some of the senior teachers came to me and told me: 'You are a new and idealist teacher, you are so active because you are new. Your enthusiasm will diminish the more experience you will have, then you will be a teacher like all of us'. I don't know whether to continue in my own way or to try and adapt to them (p.35).

Zinunura another participant shared her experience that:

> *When I joined the campus, I was only ready to do anything only that I put in Law as my first choice because my father is a magistrate. So he kept on thinking that it was the best course. So when I went to campus I was given Education , I didn't mind. Because I didn't think of anything else. It is only my father who came and said, "can they give you law?". I tried because he wanted. I went there one day, I run back to Education because they said there was too much work. That time nobody told us what we would expect. So they said you people there is too much work in law, you will not manage. I said well, in the first place, they didn't give me Law. Let me go where they thought I would perform best. So, I went for education.* [HM; August 2, 1995].

For her, the choice of studying law was made by her father whose ambition was to reproduce himself professionally through his daughter. The view that teacher education is a profession for the weak academically where one did not need to work hard is implied in her responses. Could it be that Zinunura was overwhelmed by biases in the structures that associate gender with certain courses? If it were so, this became a self-fulfilling prophecy as it later proved to be when she run away from law. In doing so, meritocratic selection through competitive exams of allocating and slotting students into courses and programs in which they fit best was given legitimacy.

Ninsiima was of the conviction that students had no feelings and respect for their teachers and ranked the teachers after pigs. She narrated her experience thus:

> *I remember back in the west at the time when they were bringing this yellow posho (maize flour), ... there was a rumor that this yellow posho causes impotence in boys and it was a boys' school. They rioted and said we do not want that posho. The headmaster asked them - no, in fact it was the Board of Governors' Chairman - 'where do we put the posho?' They said, 'you can give it to the pigs and the teachers'. That is the impression they have of teachers, teachers can eat it because they could see us eat the posho anyway. You could give it to the pigs and then the teachers - teachers come under the pigs. So it is the mentality which these children pick from their parents and even when they look at us the way we struggle* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Ninsiima felt that parents and their children perceived a teacher as a lesser human being.

However, some technocrats lacked empathy for teachers. They were against teachers' self-pity, low self-esteem and low self-rating as the preceding narrative portrays. They argued, with airs tinged with bureaucratic arrogance, that teachers were destroying the fabric and integrity of an otherwise noble profession. This was a feeling that was expressed by most policy makers who were participating in a Forum on Education for All in Kampala, November, 1995. Why teachers rate themselves low was not considered to be an issue of concern. For a teacher to say, "I am just a teacher", or "I am a mere teacher" is a litmus test for some degree of disempowerment, hopelessness, diminished prestige and security in the teaching profession. Therefore, mere demand on teachers not to profess their felt despair, poverty, and disenchantment without any compassion and critical reflection on the underpinning issues and problems that help us to understand better the genesis of such apathy is no remedy to a grave situation. The manifestation of teachers' poverty and apathy is a mere symptom of the problem. The problem is rooted in the social, political, economic and culture structures that take away their dignity, integrity and self esteem as dignified empowered human beings. According to Bwengye,

> *... the Ugandan education system, ... produces a self-centered individual whereby giving myself as a personal example, me as an individual, I teach chemistry. If I had become an engineer, I would have got more myself instead of teaching whereby I am building the nation but I am getting something little for myself* [TR; August 5, 1995].

He felt that teaching was viewed by insiders, and to a large extent, even by outsiders, as a selfless sacrifice, as a vocation, that did not bring economic prosperity to those who belong to it (Huebner, 1984). It is also worth noting that a teacher is a product of the same education system Bwengye said was producing a self-centered individual. To what extent therefore would a teacher be immune to the individualism nurtured by the school system so that after going through it he or she teaches to transform rather than reproduce the status quo?

From Ninsiima's point of view, a teacher's identity was shaped by what he or she engaged in for economic survival:

> *Definitely everybody is aware that a teacher has always been looked at as a low person in terms of income earning. We must admit that most of us ["all of us" the rest chipped in] here are not - can not survive on the salt which we are given by the government for a month - that is if you are lucky to get it regularly. ... You will not first and foremost put the pupil or the student you are teaching at the front. You first put yourself at the front. Because in order to teach that person, you must be satisfied somewhere. We are not definitely saying that we are satisfied but you find that you are scattering left and right to make ends meet. So when we talk of equipping even rural schools with whatever dreams of Utopia-one will think twice "if I go to Moroto, I will forego this". I have got my children, will they get the proper education in Moroto? I think I had better stay around Kampala here so that I have one "leg" here , we have a saying, "a third leg". I have one leg or another leg, and if this one fails then I have this one opening. If this should fail I should have this one ... but the fact is we are under funded* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Her argument was that the economic status of a teacher undermined his/her integrity in society. That such engagements in more than one job which were not related to the professional growth undermined a teacher's efficiency. Her view also brought up the idea of a teacher playing a multifaceted role - as a teacher, a parent and a member of the community faced with challenges that were situated in the social, economic societal structures that formed the reality of his or her work environment. Hence, Obadia, another teacher lamented that:

> *... our role as teachers has not been well blessed by what obtains politically and culturally. ... I feel that the child today particularly in urban areas is more influenced by information, other experiences outside the classroom more than what he gets inside the classroom* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Teachers no longer had "full" control and influence on their students as the case used to be in the past, especially in urban settings where students have access to information sources like educated parents, churches and the media (Torres and Puiggros, 1995). In other words, the blame or credit could be constituted by other factors which were not within a teacher's jurisdiction.

Ruyonga contended that teachers were not self made but products of a system that influenced their world view and of those who passed through their hands. He commented thus:

> *The way we were taught is the one subjecting our products to that kind of lack of initiative. I must say that the teachers hands have been tied for a very long time. There are several factors that have caused the teacher to do this. To me the teacher initially knows what to do. ... You are supposed to do good things. ...we were subjected to harassment when governments were changing, "kaa chini mwalimu" - the child is looking, the old, with scorn and pity. We were helpless. ... Even the teachers pay in class is very low and you have to finish the lesson and here quickly and run to do some other small thing. This makes you unable to perform exactly what you wanted to do.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

The meaning of "*kaa chini mwalimu* "is in Kiswahili, ordering a teacher to "lie down teacher", as it was common for soldiers to cane anybody whenever they wished during the '70s. Ruyonga argued that the way teachers were taught inevitably could not enable them to prepare citizens with initiative. In addition, he contended that a teacher lacked the kind of appropriate initiative and other helping factors in the system in the obtaining circumstances in the country. Ruyonga felt that teachers were only in a position to do a good job if resources were provided. That poor remuneration has demoralized a teacher. This has split a teachers efforts to engage in other non-professional activities to supplement the meager income. It has undermined teachers' faith in their profession. In addition, the social, political and economic structures in the past decades created militarization that grossly eroded the status of teachers and violated their human rights. For instance, during the rule of Amin, some students used to humiliate teachers about being poverty stricken, and those whose parents were in the army or had connections with the military intimidated and harassed teachers and fellow students with pistols.

One of the practices which was identified with teachers as a consequence of the injustices rooted in the structures and in their struggle for survival was through creating scarcity and shortages in the distribution of the regime of the sanctioned truth in order to increase demand for it as a scarce commodity. This is a kind of black market of knowledge which has acquired the false brand of coaching as this Somya narrated:

> *You know how many things those teachers engage in. And it has an effect on the students. ... You will find a teacher withholding certain information. Today coaching has actually lost its meaning. You find most of this what is called coaching today is new material being given to students. Why, because the teacher has withheld the material during the time when he is supposed to give it and he is asking the students to pay for it instead. ... So that is why I say that from here, these people are adequately prepared. But when they go out there they are bombarded with all sorts of factors. And because of that they fail to implement what they have got from here - not because they have not got it, but because you have no time to do it* [TE;September 20, 1995].

"Black markets" in the distribution of knowledge are a daily reality in Ugandan schools. Some school administrators and the Ministry of Education and Sports have issued strongly worded statements to that effect. Nevertheless, the system continues under the same structures that gave rise and sustain it. It is worth noting that it is dependent on "banking" pedagogical strategies where memoring rather than interrogating facts is highly stressed.

4.2.1. Improvisation

Ruyonga shared his experience in relation to teaching his subject that

> *When you say lets go to a soap factory and learn about chemistry in the real sense of it, they say it can't work, we have limited resources. ... There is some little light now, little change for the better. ... But as things go on changing, science labs for example have been docile for some time, but now they have been re-activated at least for us around here [in Kampala]... at times we give exhibitions* [TR; August 5, 1995].

The above argument implied that lack of equipment and laboratories has undermined teaching science subjects. The laboratory Ruyonga has in mind is dependent on foreign supplies of equipment and chemicals from abroad, leaving almost no room for improvisation in the local setting at home. It is true that laboratories have been in senile decay. It partly confirms the prevalent foreign based nature of science as an imported transplant in Ugandan schools. What was observed during the field study is that the process of rehabilitating laboratories is guided by the same colonial model that kept science decontextualized and removed from the local setting. Tied to the apron strings of further modernization, Ruyonga is convinced that learning about chemistry in the real sense would require of him to go to the soap factory or the equivalent, not the local setting. The argument here is not to say that a soap factory cannot be local. The crux of the argument is the assumptions underlying the local factory. For instance, when more adapted and appropriate technology is used in terms of raw materials, local labor treated with dignity but not mere hands of the factory as cheap disposable labor by a multinational; when the factory is not a mere assembly plant of imported machinery and ingredients to mix and produce a piece of soap made in Uganda, just in name, that can be a local factory. For this reason it is tempting to argue that not all the problems necessarily need monetary solutions. If anything, some have been compounded by aid funds that in some instances stifle improvisation, imagination and ingenuity that would have yielded a more relevant scientific orientation to the needs of national development.

One very hot afternoon at Muduma secondary school, a teacher of Science was preparing to ride forty miles to get distilled water to use for experiments from a better facilitated school. Asked why he had to do travel all that far for distilled water and his response was that the school lacked the equipment. Probed if there were people in the neighboring community to the school who were illegally distilling crude Walagi [a local brand of vodka] he said there were several. Asked further whether behind their distilleries these people employed any principles that could be compared with what the imported Lie Big condensers conveyed and his response was positive. He said that a litre of distilled water was at Ug. Shs. 2000/=. Asked why he did not take his students to such sights and related the concept of distillation to what was taking place in the local setting or why he did not think of acquiring new drums to distill water and sell it to his school and those around it rather than taking the money he needed most to supplement his meager income to another school 40 miles away? In any case, distilled water would not be an illegal business as the case was with crude Waragi. The unilinear approach to science introduced as an imported transplant of a well stocked laboratory left little room for improvising, creativity and innovation that would have led to the indigenization of the concepts and principles of science. Until imported pendulums, pulleys, and loads of moments are imported, the teacher only drew a picture on the blackboard for a student to imagine the impossible, reducing students into "dull" or "animals" as some teachers described them, when actually the teaching process itself is disabling rather than enabling them to learn science. As Muhesi shared,

> *... now because of lack of facilities and materials and so forth, we are providing the youth with the theory part leaving out the practical because these things are not there. You only talk of the thing and then you just give the person a diagram of how that looks.*

Muhesi realized the following interconnections when he said that

> *I think the curriculum we have has caused a lot of unemployment in the country. ... for instance, we have all along had people studying engineering but if you could really bring someone who has qualified in engineering to put it into practice to produce something out of his education, then they are very few who can do that. Because the materials used to train them in that system are produced outside. ... to produce something profitable to the country, that one is not learnt* [TR; August 9, 1995].

This is not to say that there is no improvisation at all being tried by some schools and by some teachers, nor should it imply that all Science inputs can be improvised locally. But effort in that direction that is not dependent on foreign aid and/or initiative was still a missing ingredient.

However, lack of improvisation in terms of creative learning environments that benefited from local resources were not only limited to the field of Science. A teacher, Obadia felt that

> *... unconsciously the crowding ... so many ... competing subjects that have come into a day's time table have almost pushed off the practical aspect. I would have loved for example my students to study a text or two in two years and be able to go into the field, go to the conference center, see how people debate national issues like the current constitution now. I would have expected the learning process to include me taking the students to the high court to see how a case is being judged because these are the things which are in press in the text, we are seeing a character being judged by another character. We are seeing a kind of mob court -, but we don't go out to see this so that a student thinks this is just fiction. It remains in the text. When he goes out it is a different issue* [TR; August 5, 1995].

It is true that compartmentalization of subjects and fragmentation of time are part of the reality in a teacher's life. Nevertheless, one would imagine that role playing in such a situation where visits to parliament or courts of law were not possible could be explored and probably suffice for learning purposes. However, it would still require resourcefulness in a given environment by exploring the available helping factors in relation to the constraints.

4.2.2. Gender issues

Some teachers felt that teaching was suitable for women. A female teacher was asked what made her join the teaching profession and she responded thus:

> *I grew up admiring teachers when I was still young. I used to admire the life they were leading. They were the smartest people with money in the village. ... I also enjoyed my life as student so I felt I should keep in touch with student life- somehow it led to my sticking to the profession. And as far as a woman's responsibilities are concerned, I thought I would be more comfortable there as maybe a mother-to-be. There is more time in teaching - more free time which you can utilize at home maybe taking care of the babies. I wanted a more relaxed job. It is the funds that are now making me regret - the poor pay in relation to others. I should have done other courses and maybe joined an NGO* [TR; July 20, 1995].

For Apia, teachers were a symbol and a representation of modernity and modernization. The source of a teacher's charm that fed her inspiration to become a teacher stemmed from teachers' material affluence during that time since they were the people with money in the villages. In addition, she contended that responsibilities of a woman are more compatible with the teaching profession than any other. Apart from the poor economic returns that accrue from the teaching profession, it was considered the best with more free time in terms of holidays and a more relaxed job. On further inquiry whether she held the view that teaching was good for women, Apia said:

> *Surely, if it is well-remunerated the teaching profession is very good for women. As I have said, there is a lot of free time because when I look at the ladies who work in the bank, they have very little time with their babies. They leave very early, and go back late, some of them. Even the maternity leave is strictly 45 days. But in the teaching profession you can easily combine maybe with the holiday, possibly you deliver before the holiday you find the holiday has also helped you, then the term will begin you will of course resume work teaching and at the same time, you will also have to use your free time to attend to your family. So, because of the holiday and then the free time, like for instance, I'm only committed here in the morning, so I am free the whole afternoon. In fact, ever since I joined here, I have been free all afternoons, so whenever I have had a baby, I have really utilized this time. but currently now, I don't have a baby, so I can do other things* [TR; July 20, 1995].

In her opinion, a woman who had to raise children as her predestined biological role should find teaching more conducive. As far as she was concerned, a woman who is attached to her family would do a lot better in teaching than elsewhere if it were not for the low pay. Her view rhymes well with the held belief that mothers are the first teachers. However, the market economy in Uganda has exposed women both to formal and informal sectors where large scale exploitation has undermined the role mothers used to play more effectively as teachers. This used to keep family and community values more alive than the case is today under modernization.

Another female teacher, Kobutesi, was asked whether she held a similar view about teaching:

> *I think teaching is a decent job. You keep up to date, in touch with society, the young society mainly. ... And it is a decent job for women because you have all your freedom, you can't behave the way you feel you should have behaved- mess around, drink around because it restricts you. Because wherever you are the children are watching you as an example so you must portray a good example as a teacher. You don't just go and drink and you put off all your clothes, you go and dance your night off in a disco, you'll be embarrassed. Because most of the people you will meet there will be students and they will be knowing you. So it tames some of the people who would not be well-behaved* [TR; July 20, 1995].

She believed that teaching was a decent profession for a woman; that it demanded exemplary character from such a person. And according to her argument, because of these virtues it would protect the individual teacher from falling into trouble. It was further implied that teachers were expected to step outside the ordinary sphere where everybody else operated freely and depict themselves above it. In other words, teachers should be exemplary role models. They were not supposed to act freely where other people felt free to act.

Female teachers were almost non-existent in rural schools. Twiine, a female teacher at Standard High School in one of the secondary schools in Kampala, was asked what explanation she would attach to such a development and said that:

> *I think since the number of educated females is small, educated women tend to concentrate in urban areas. So you find that most men, teachers in rural areas tend even to marry uneducated women because those who are educated end up in urban areas. ...Those educated women if they are to marry for instance they get men who are educated who most of them are working in urban areas. And even those who have done education, they don't want to go back to rural areas because of the conditions there. Because there are many avenues which they can get to supplement their incomes. That is why even more men are here. There are other activities they can engage in to generate more income.*[TR; July 27, 1995].

The views held by teacher female respondents considered teaching as a good profession for women. They believed that it kept them decent and respectful in society as exemplary.

4.3. Learning to become a teacher

In order to establish how teachers conceptualize their own learning to become teachers, participants were asked to share there experiences and following are some of their narratives. For instance Kahigi, a Grade V teacher, was asked to what extent his teacher training influenced his learning to teach and he responded that when teaching, predominantly ...

> *Me I find that after the college, at times you find you are borrowing the ideas of the way your teacher taught you and the methods from the college. For example you find some of the chapters might be difficult if you were to follow the same methods as acquired in the college and then you find that you are almost borrowing the ideas of the old teachers who teach things as theyare* [TE; September 20, 1995].

Asked what he meant by teaching things as they are, he said:

> *At times there is teaching of material without following any particular method, you fail to get the methods to follow and then you devise your own methods as your teachers devised* [TR; August 8, 1995].

For Kahigi, methods from teacher education programs helped him but the ideas of his former teachers had greater impact on his teaching. In referring to unique situations that pose a challenge to his training, a teacher found himself devising his own methods as his teachers appeared to have done when teaching him. Much as Kahigi conceptualized his own learning to teach through his training at college and the teachers who taught him prior to his pre-service training, personal initiative in his work environment that continuously confronted him with the unexpected and unconventional challenges required him to devise his own methods as his teachers used to do.

Okurapa held the view that he based his teaching mainly on imitating the teacher who taught him his teaching subject, Physics:

> *In most cases, ... we teach in the way we were taught. We try to follow the way we were trained a bit but in most cases, we teach the way we were taught. For example, in Physics I used to have a good teacher in Physics and the way he used to enjoy the subject and to crack jokes is the way I am trying to follow. I appreciated the way he used to teach and that is the way I am trying to follow* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Some theorists from the North have corroborated the view expressed by Okurapa that his role model in teaching Physics was his favorite former teacher (Britzman, 1991; Zeichiner, 1987; Dias, 1989). Britzman (1991) argues that, "in part, this accounts for the persistency of particular worldviews, orientations, dispositions, and cultural myths that dominate our thinking and, in unintended way, select the practices that are available in life". Banks and Thomas (1995) have advanced a similar view that:

> Specifically, beginning teachers may model their teaching style and behavior after former teachers who were not especially effective. For example, beginning teachers may give true/false tests every Friday because when they were in school, they had true/false tests every Friday. Instead of adhering to such traditions, beginning teachers may begin to reconsider their past educational experiences to discover what worked well and what did not (pp.19-20).

However, to consider one's past experience critically entails the reflective process on one's action and in action which, from an insiders point of view, does not appear to feature prominently in the prevailing current teacher education preservice and almost non-existent in inservice programs in Uganda. When Ndoona SSS was visited, teachers enumerated the many activities that were going on almost at the same time that same day and other days. This, they said, left no time for the teacher to reflect on what he was doing in a holistic manner. Basically, these activities programmed and controlled a teacher mechanically. They felt too pre-occupied by the interests of the organization that is results-oriented to helping students pass excessively competitive exams especially in such an elitist schools. That left little time if any for teachers to reflect on what they did and time to think about the evil done to them by the institution/organization itself. There was hardly any time left for the teacher to reflect on his/her professional life as a teacher. The conversations necessary for the development of teachers' voices, therefore, are inhibited by school culture and organization that create conditions for teachers such as low status, overwork, and externally defined standards of performance (Richert, 1992; Ross, 1992b; Smyth, 1992; Jenne, 19994; Bacchus, 1996). Of all teacher participants interviewed, none of them was writing a journal or involved in any research. Is there any inservice programs which practicing teachers attend to have opportunity to reflect on their own professional practices in efforts to correct their deficiencies by engaging in self-empowerment? Is there any possibility of funding research done by teachers?

Efforts also were made to gain the views of teacher educators as to what extent they themselves were influenced by their former classroom teachers who taught them. Somya narrated that

> *...I observed some of the techniques of the teachers who were teaching...not that I was interested in their techniques...because at that time I had not yet made up my mind to become a teacher. ...that is why I would disagree with anybody who says that what she got was from her teachers why, because very many people up to S.6 have not yet established what*

> *they want to become. Many people we get here into the education system are people who have given it as a second choice* [TE; September 20, 1995].

True as it may be that majority of the people who train to become teachers have given it as a second choice, at this point it is not too late for them to revisit their past experience and borrow from the teachers who might have caused lasting impressions during their school days. The influence could have been positive or negative on the prospective teacher's attitudes and practices that form part of their lived experiences. Hence, the argument advanced by Somya, a teacher educator, is not entirely convincing when one considers the fact that one may find himself or herself applying some past knowledge and part of such knowledge may take different forms, it may be overt, tacit, or even hidden from the teachers themselves (Shkedi, 1996). Schon (1987) used the expression 'knowing in action', in order to describe this type of knowledge. Revisiting his experience Oye, a teacher participant, observed that:

> *According to my experience, when I finished my BA., I taught for about 3-4 years, then I came for PGDE. And I think I stuck to the way I taught before I was trained, and up to now - not much has changed* [TR; July 20, 1995].

He believed that his PGDE exposure did not change the pedagogical strategies he was using prior to his training. Another teacher, Kahigi, advanced the argument that

> *...Training gives you some additional skills but really if you are naturally not a good teacher then usually you can not make it properly. But also teacher training adds you some more skills* [TR; August 8, 1995].

Mureebe added his voice and said:

> *It is a combination of all levels right from secondary level, then HSC level, and training at college. But the greatest extent, when one turns out a good teacher he is naturally being a good teacher. He can acquire some skills of teaching but when you are not a good teacher by birth really you cannot effect it effectively* [TR; August 8, 1995].

According to one teacher, much as educational institutions which one attended contributed some skills of teaching, unless that person was "naturally" a good teacher one would not be able to teach effectively. The voices of teachers seemed to indicate that the formal teacher training process was not the principal or general source of professional knowledge. Lieberman and Miller (1984) suggested at least four characteristics that make an idea practical: that it is developed out of situations in the school, that it has immediate application, that it is offered by practical people, and that it addresses practical problems.

It seems the negative attitude of the teachers toward pre-service training programs indicates that teachers do not find these mentioned desirable, practical traits in teacher education programs for acquiring professional knowledge (Shkedi, 1996). To what extent do teacher education programs in Uganda integrate its content with the teachers' real world and actuality of school and classroom life? What forces the practicing teachers to revisit their former teachers experience?

From Obadia's point of view, progressively, teachers have changed according to the generations of teachers we have produced:

> *But when we talk about a teacher, we must also think about the generations of teachers we have produced. The teacher that was maybe in the '50s, '60s and a bit of '70s has already been pushed from the arena.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

Probed further whether he meant that the teacher of the old days was very different from the current teacher, the response was:

> *Yes. But if anything there is very little difference. I think a teacher of the old days could have had room to be more flexible than the teacher of these days.* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Bwengye expressed dissent saying that

> *... the system is consistent in that we tend to teach the way we were taught. Because if I was taught to prepare oxygen in a certain manner, when I come to prepare it today I will use the same system because it is the one I know. So I think the system is consistent* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Asked whether he taught the way he was prepared as a professional teacher or the way he was taught by his classroom teacher in lower classes before going to university, Bwengye replied that

> *Mainly it is the way we were taught. Because giving my personal experience, the way I was taught in the School of Education with the assistance of the Faculty of Science in Chemistry what I was taught in the Department of Chemistry in the faculty of Science is not the Chemistry I teach here at A'level because they are somehow different. The other one is a bit advanced. So when I come to teach Chemistry now in A'level, I revisit my A'level notes and methods, the way I was taught in Kibuli in A'level* [TR; August 5, 1995].

In response to this candid sharing, Obadia queried him that "*So you are not a professional teacher?*" In reply, Bwengye replied saying,

> *I am but I am giving you my personal experience in my area. Because I can give an example. Like in Chemistry at Makerere we would prepare aspirin which is advanced. But here at A'level I am supposed to prepare oxygen which I didn't study at Makerere because this is elementary now. So that is why I am compelled to go back to my O'level and A'level knowledge so that I can teach the same material. So that is the reality* [TR; August 5, 1995].

In his argument, Bwengye seemed to assume that method (approach) and content are the same. The issue one may wish to raise could be, to what extent was the Science methods program in the School of Education closely connected with the school curriculum? The views expressed by Bwengye were stressing the fact that in theory ,"we were told", or "they were saying" partly implying that teacher education relied on "banking" pedagogical strategies whereby theory and practice remained disconnected. Another teacher, Kintu, concurred with the views expressed above that prior experience teachers went through in secondary schools had greater influence on a teacher's pedagogical approaches:

> *Maybe I emphasize his point by saying that the system we go through in secondary, the experiments we do and so forth, they have a greater impact on how we are going to behave than the training we have in Makerere. Because even me when I am teaching for example Economics or French I tend to use my own way, the way I think the thing is going to be understood better from the way I was taught than from the methods I was taught in the institution. So I teach the way I think students are going to understand rather than how I was taught at Makerere* [TR; August 5, 1995].

When asked what he considered to be the genesis of his approach, Kintu said, "*I attribute it to my personal experience*". That is, he was relying on his own experience which he viewed as pedagogy that was a product of his personality (Britzman, 1986). This is what Britzman (1986: 451) refers to as "teachers are self-made". According to him, the reason why he did not teach the way he was taught at Makerere was that he believed teaching his own way made students understand better than slanting his teaching to the training he was exposed to. From the views, experiences teacher participants shared, it is evident from the narratives that a number of teachers disregarded pedagogical methods they were introduced to during their teacher education preparation. There is a tendency of viewing them as out of tune with their lived reality (Hargreaves, 1994).

However, Kuguma had the following dissenting view that:

> *From my own point of view some people tend to say they were influenced at a certain stage to behave the way they do than at a certain stage. For me I would say the whole process right from primary, secondary and we should not rule out the experience we get at university or any other institution of*

> *higher learning. Of course on the other side we are equipped with more methods than we can use. So I feel that even university education we get is very important in enabling you to revisit or go back to what you were given probably the notes in Chemistry you were given at secondary level. You may present that information in a better way than another person who did not reach that level* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Without disregarding the value of advanced levels of learning, one should not take it for granted that the higher the qualification, the better the quality of teaching. A higher qualification could be a mere response to the current exigencies of the "diploma disease" that has caused inflation in qualifications without a corresponding match with the expected quality, relevance and practical response to the demands of real life situation (Dore, 1976; Oxenham, 1984).

Much as teacher respondents were of the view that teachers' guides saved them the burden of preparing a lot, teachers' guides also have been known to reduce a teacher's active participation almost at all levels without engaging in meaningful creation of knowledge - planning the curriculum and its implementation as a mere technician fixing things. This is the process of deprofessionalization and proletarianization of the teaching profession. It increases chances of making a teacher obsolete, making her/him more dispensable and vulnerable particularly so that technology is viewed, in the technocratic paradigm, as a viable substitute for a teacher's role. As technology takes on some of the teachers' responsibilities, it also takes away her/his bargaining power in the labor market and erodes her/his firm grip on the profession (Harris, 1982; Carlson, 1988; Kozol, 1993). Without transcending to become a transformative intellectual, the end result is for a teacher to become just a technician, deskilled professionally and merely operating as a clerical worker.

The education systems of countries like Uganda have suffered more devastating and crippling blows as a result of globalization that has drastically led to severe budget cutbacks. This has meant that teachers' professional image has suffered and conditions of work have also deteriorated further. It has also accelerated "internal brain drain" the teaching profession has always suffered. This is a process whereby teachers leave teaching to do other jobs which they consider to be better remunerated than teaching. The forms, therefore, in which deprofessionalization, proletarianization and deskilling are taking place in the Ugandan context seem to be different from what obtains in the North, although with similar consequences to the teaching profession, but only different in kind and degree. It is evident in the current poor quality education teachers receive; the rate at which teachers leave teaching, poor remuneration and the failure of the profession to attract motivated people to join it, leaving it vulnerable for those who are "stranded" as one respondent pointed out. The large number of untrained teachers that constitute a sizable force in the teaching cadre and the failure of the teaching profession to retain some of the already trained ones reflects the dispensability of the trained teacher and how s/he has been substituted with less trained, and in some cases untrained, teachers. I contend that, in a way, it is a form of deprofessionalizing, proletarianizing and deskilling process of the teaching profession in Uganda. The untrained teacher is more liable to be less assertive and easy to control with even lesser bargaining power for better terms of service than a trained teacher.

In a nutshell, teacher participants believed that their teaching has been heavily influenced by the old teachers who were teaching them before entering teacher education programs and that influence has endured up to-date. However, some acknowledged that they benefited some skills from teacher education programs which supplemented the techniques they acquired through observing their old teachers. The fact that teachers believed that a good teacher was created "naturally" and by "birth" rather than by preparation in teacher education institutions remains a challenge to the School of Education and other institutions that provide teacher education in Uganda. Research and available theory supports this evidence that student teachers entered teacher education programs having already acquired certain orientations, beliefs and attitudes toward teaching as a consequence of the many years they have sat in front of teachers as students. Such a predisposition to teachers has tended to have far reaching impact on student teachers' approaches if the programs they go through during their preservice preparation are merely routine lectures that serve to reinforce rather than help to bring to an end negative earlier acquired experiences (Bacchus, 1996; Britzman, 1991; Zeichner, 1987; Dias, 1989). In which way is teacher education in Uganda informed by what obtains in real classrooms with real teachers?

4.3.2. Quality and pedagogy

Teachers were asked to share their experiences concerning the training they went through to become teachers. The thrust of the sub-theme focuses on the micro-aspects of relevance in terms of quality and pedagogy of teacher education programs. Babirye was of the view that:

> *... in Sociology of Education they used to teach us about the kind of students we would meet; deviant characters, undisciplined and how you*

> *have to cater for them. ... they told us that there are many things that affect a student - peer groups, family background, the environment kids grow in ... If I know the kind of background you have then I would be able to help you if you are a deviant or if I know that its your friends who are destroying you, I will still talk to you from that aspect of your friends* [TR; August 2, 1995].

The view expressed by Babirye that they used to teach us or "they told us" gives the impression that the exposure was theoretically oriented based on the "banking" paradigm pedagogies without arousing critical awareness among the students of their own reality and how to be able to act upon it. The practical component based on the critical paradigm that would have led to Babirye's empowerment seemed to have remained untackled.

According to Dajo, teacher education programs left a lot to be desired. He narrated his experience in this way:

> *When I was still a student teacher, of all my lecturers nobody tried to involve us in his lecture. So we went out without an experience of how you can involve a child in a lesson...practically. When I qualified, I for one, I did not involve any teachers I trained in my lectures. I would just come with prepared notes, even I would go to the library, pick any book, any pages and say "you are mature you know what to do." ... if you have not participated in something as you are being trained how will you manage to effectively do it somewhere else? ... These teachers who are half baked as far as teaching methods are concerned - involvement of pupils and what have you, are not responsible for that short coming. These lecturers, is there a school in Uganda where lecturers also study lecturing method?* [Teachers' Workshop, November 11, 1995]

Dajo identified his method of work with his training as a professional teacher in a teacher education institute. Is Dajo questioning the legitimacy of the lecture method in teacher education institutions? Could it also be a step in Dajo's recognition of the dehumanizing reality of the lecture method? How can Dajo be able to reach a "position to work out actions that will challenge and change conditions" that sustain the "dehumanizing reality" he has identified as the lecture method in learning? (Hickling-Hudson, 1988: 17). He believed that he drew on the practices of his teacher educators to do his work. According to Somya, the lecture method is ideal in preparing teachers:

> *For us here we are dealing with different students. We are handling very mature students whom the lecture method is quite ideal. But when you come to the secondary level that is where you expect these variety of methods that we give to them and expect them to use for that level. When they themselves come here and become lecturers at this level, they can adopt the lecturing method. It is not that we should use the same method that we expect them to be using because we are handling different levels. They are*

> *handling different children altogether at a different level and we are handling them at a different level* [TE; September 20, 1995].

Somya's views implied that mature students do not need to participate in their learning. In other words, they are a captive audience where to "bank" information (Freire, 1970). However, on graduation, they are expected to practice a variety of methods that were talked about during their teacher training. Somya does not see any discrepancy between theory and practice in teacher preparation, particularly the 'giving' concept as applied to student teachers. She felt that a given method in lecture form would place a teacher in good stead to practice it at the level s/he would be teaching.

Kalema, another teacher participant explained how he found the training program that prepared him to become a teacher as follows:

> *The Program is very inadequate because for example the time for the subjects that make someone a good teacher is quite little in the training. For instance, these subject methods are taught in the last term in third year. ... And even when it came to teaching practice, it is not done in the best way. For instance, I was supervised only twice, In Second year I was not supervised and I got the degree and on my transcript I got a B+ indicating that I passed Teaching Practice. The school of education itself needs some bit of restructuring. And they should put emphasis ... on teaching practice. Because it is not generally given enough priority. ... They give priority to other subjects that don't prepare teachers. ... some teachers after graduating from there they can not express themselves well. You can see even during school practice students fail to express themselves well, they fear the students, especially the girls, because they are not given enough training to practice. So generally, the school of Education does not give good preparation. I can't for instance say that the Philosophy of Education I studied was even adequate neither was it relevant to what I am teaching* [TR; August 4, 1995].

For Kalema, teacher preparation, particularly school practice was allocated little time which could not prepare an adequately equipped teacher. Insightfully, his views also revealed that the high grades that were used to qualify/pass or fail students did not tell much about the quality of the qualified teacher. It also reflected how over-reliance on results pegged on statistical figures and grades left a lot to be desired in increasing our knowledge about the situation being evaluated. The testimony of the respondent that he was not supervised and yet he got the degree and on his transcript he got a B+ is a challenge to the School of Education. Could it be that lack of supervision of teaching was due to lack of "resources"? In which way, and to what extent is school practice a priority in teacher preparation in the School of Education at Makerere University? Bacchus (1996: 83-4) has also noted that:

> A further influence on how student teachers will eventually teach is the way in which the faculty at the teacher colleges themselves teach and supervise their students work. The instructional strategies used by the faculty in many teachers colleges in developing countries focus on the knowledge transmission through the lecture method. This simply reinforces the teaching methods that the students have earlier experienced in school (p.83-4).

Ninsiima, another teacher, was asked whether her professional training equipped her with skills, values, and attitudes that helped her to produce transformative citizens, her response was negative:

> *Hah, no. You see behind, I think it is our training: there is always that fear of failing, it is inherent within us. ... For example, your relationship with your teacher, if you are bad, a teacher will neglect you. Or if you fail to comply ... the teacher will malice you. Our education system is such that if for example, I gave 5 marks out of 50 to a student, that student has no right or no way of coming to ask me why have you given him 5. "Can you explain, can you account for your giving me this 5 out of 50 ? " We don't have that system , I am sorry. Okay, maybe ... that would be giving a lot of power to the student but the American system is such that a student is supposed to know if you put an x why is it an x?* [TR; July 13, 1995].

The view held by Ninsiima that the American system is such that a student is supposed to know if you put an x why is it an x? and therefore an ideal model worth emulating needs to be treated with skepticism. Some critiques have viewed the American system of education as also deficient in justice and equality to American children. The system of education has been viewed as disseminating a form of "indoctrination" and "Big lies" that serve to perpetuate "Savage Inequalities" (Macedo, 1993; Kozol, 1990; 1991).

The crisis of confidence and authority on the part of the teacher cannot entirely be rooted in the individual teacher's personality. Most likely, it could be due to the nature of his/her training that was devoid of democratic empathetic and peaceful means to problem solving/conflict resolution. Does the process of conflict resolution at the end leave the weaker party empowered based on no-victor or humiliated or vanquished approach; or a teacher resorts to power and intimidation, demanding undue compliance from the students? Can a teacher apologize to a student if indeed he or she was the one at fault?

What was observed in one of the schools where the study was conducted is that one time, intellectual curiosity in terms of asking questions was highly suspect and met with resentment mistaken as a student's desire to challenge and threaten the intellectual foundations of a teacher. It is of interest also to note that the example she chose to explain asymmetrical power relations in the school setting is slanted grossly in favor of a teacher.

However, this view implied that the students' interest would not particularly be vested in understanding the concept behind their low scores in relation to what it stands for in terms of their knowing, but just concerned with merely a good grade. Similarly, a teacher who does not expect a student to ask him or her why s/he was given a low grade may be less inclined to use the grade as a signpost in guiding the student to an alternative possibility among the many options experimental reality may offer (Alensky, 1957). When oriented to such beliefs and practices in his/her pedagogical approaches, a teacher will cultivate, nurture, stimulate and whet the desire for, and almost an addiction to, the grade among students rather than a desire to search for knowledge. I would like to term this, "the grade syndrome".

In further description of the kind of orientation she acquired during her teacher preparation, Ninsiima narrated that:

> *The type of education I am sorry to say we got is a fact-oriented type of education. The fact that you are a teacher, you are supposed to go in front of the students, teach them, make sure they have got this and this and this topic that is why you have topic aims, the aims and objectives. I am not trying to criticize ... our lesson plans and what have you, but there you are- aims and objectives- if you reach class and you find a situation which is not going to allow you to make a conclusion which you otherwise made in your lesson plan, what are you going to do about it? But in our teacher training, we are taught. ... all your energy, should be geared to making that conclusion you have ... made before. So, there is a predetermined-the end justifies the means, not the means justifying the ends. That is the type of education we got* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Implicit in this voice is lack of any allowance for situational flexibility. This renders itself to the Tylerian model which is technocratic in its unilinear orientation. Ninsiima was reflecting on education which seemed be guided by achievements at-all-costs vision (Apple and Beane, 1995). As she noted, it was fact-oriented, with predetermined aims and objectives and a conclusion. In a skeptical manner, this teacher wondered as she said, there you are with a pre-determined agenda; what happens if the situation is not conducive as pre-determined? This is a dilemma which, indeed, is a reality a teacher is likely to face while executing her/his duties. This mechanistic approach of preparing teachers to go in front of students and lecture to them stresses the hierarchically arranged classroom based on asymmetrical power relations of top-bottom, giver-receiver approaches to pedagogy.

The view from Mulindwa, a policy maker was that the teaching profession recruited people who would not make transformative teachers. She explained that

> *...other people say but these students come to teaching as a last resort. Many of them are those who score low marks. ... basically they are not the sharp students who would look for this intellectual scope we are talking about. Secondly, they are still taking education for something else. ... It is a stepping stone. ... those in the field are stuck there because something good has not yet come.* [PM; November 10, 1995].

For Mulindwa, the teaching profession lacked the capacity to attract students with better grades. A parallel view was from Oye and he noted that majority of those who were recruited into the teaching profession joined not because they were responding to a calling into it:

> *Well, a good many teachers who have gone through university and taken a course like BA. Arts and the rest, because when he comes out he has no clear place to go, and so he probably goes to do PGDE in order to survive. So, there is not that much dedication to their work. He does not really get out with the proper input which actually someone who had ideally the commitment* [TR; July 27, 1995].

A school administrator, Bandura noted that:

> *It is again the examination-orientation of the curriculum. ... So you find somebody may just go there for exams. He doesn't have the profession at heart. Many coming out are just coming, with the view that "if there is another chance, I will go, but I am really not committed to teaching". While they are here, they are looking like this [looks right, left and right and left]. The profession doesn't burn in their hearts because they were told to take it. So it doesn't bring up that compassion for being in the teaching profession* [HM; July 28, 1995].

Bandura's argument implied that although new knowledge, new understandings, new theories of teaching may force a re-examination and a reformulation of teaching reality, the way they are 'taught' in teacher training institutions in Uganda did not seem to have a significant impact on teaching activity.

However, the opinion of a policy maker was sought whether she considered teacher educators' input to be adequate to convert and empower training teachers to become disciples on leaving the training institutions and her response was:

> *Well I am sure a lot of effort is being put in. Really I cannot elaborate on that. I go there only to interview them. But I still go back to what I said. They are not challenged enough in their thinking and acquisition of knowledge and skills to battle with such issues which you are raising. I think the courses are so routine; teaching practice, a lecture here a lecture there. That's all. But I think they need more challenging experiences and exposures to discussions, to programs and activities which involve their*

> *thinking and possibly even using their hands and so on, so that they develop that sort of interest. ...I always ask them: where did you put your first choice? "Well I wanted to do B.Com. and all this and all that." Then I say, now you are here do you like it? Well I think I can cope. So I think the conversion doesn't take place at the college but I believe as they get stranded with it they jam there* [PM; November 10, 1995].

According to Mulindwa, student teachers were not adequately challenged in their training to develop critical thinking skills. She viewed teacher preparation as a formality or ritual of passage. Teacher education institutions failed to accomplish the mission of turning the admitted students into disciples. Kadari, one of the teacher educators raised views that were parallel to those advanced by Mulindwa, a policy maker. He confirmed that

> *... we have a general failure I think because of our problems of running up and down. We have a general failure of creativity. I think initiative is lacking.* [TE; September 18, 1995].

He went on to relate his example from the field of engineering to teacher education that

> *... you go to a school and you find a qualified teacher from here or from wherever but a professional teacher can not handle a stubborn girl in class. Instead you cane, you beat and brutalize and send away and do what. So I think that is where the general failure is* [TE; September 18, 1995].

Kadari further elaborated that

> *In fact I almost failed one girl. ... There is a stubborn boy in S.2 and ... The boy asked a simple question and unfortunately for this girl she was teaching my subject. He asked the question: "Are the Langi's Luo?" And she just got up with rage ... "stupid you are very stubborn you boy. I am going to send you out of the class". ... and the whole class laughed, S.2, I watched, the girl after barking at the boy she never gave any answer, the boy was humiliated. ... And you see this boy has a hunchback* [TE; September 18, 1995].

Asked whether the training the student received could have contributed partly to that kind of attitude and method of solving problems, Kadari's response did not rule out that possibility:

> *Well that's one. Because in other systems that girl would have been identified that she has got a maladjusted behavior that ... would have been identified early. That is why I am saying that the whole system is difficult. ... in the end you teach 300 students, you can not know who is very good, who can approach this, who has a good disciplinary measure of which he can take for class control system.*[TE; September 18, 1995].

We may begin by accepting that the intern teacher [student teacher] had a problem that could be associated, partly with her on-going teacher preparation. However, Kadari believed the student teacher had a dysfunctional behavior which he called a maladjusted behavior. Kadari seemed not fully willing to consider that the student teacher's disability was probably due to pedagogical difficulties located in her teacher education preparation (Ingleby, 1976; Cummis, 1986). Maybe, the young student teacher could have been a victim of her inadequate preparation, rather than having a maladjusted behavior. This is not any different from the modernization world view which tends to blame the victim.

What this student teacher did in her classroom was not different from what a lecturer did to his student teachers as the following narrative of a practicing teacher's experience revealed:

> *We had a lecturer in mathematics. ... that gentleman was not prepared that day. ... he come, it was even in the afternoon, lays his work on the chalkboard, and somewhere things jammed. So what do we do now. We looked at each other, we looked at each other. The man became stark completely. So one of the members knew where the problem was and said, Sir there is one thing you have forgotten. Have you seen that step number three, there is something you have forgotten. The man's wires got off [meaning that he lost his temper] throwing pieces of chalk at us. Now we were scared now [participants laughed]. First of all he said in order to get a good grade you have to become a humble boy. We looked at each other there was no one who could stand up and put that thing right. ... Unfortunately he did not apologize. Up to now* [TR; November 11, 1995].

As a role model for his teaching subject to the student teachers, it is evident from this narrative that the teacher educator's approach was not only problematic but chaotic and difficult to follow. His method of work was authoritarian which rendered it suitable for purposes of domesticating his student teachers instead of empowering or liberating them. He used intimidation to elicit subservience and submissiveness for staging a one-man-drama-show. From Balita's point of view, the teacher educator was teacher-centered and any participation of the students was curtailed. Any efforts by the students to claim some of the spaces was suppressed with some doses of physical intimidation. Their knowledge was de-legitimized and therefore did not matter. As if that was not enough, the teacher militarized the class and he did not hesitate to precipitate violence as his act of throwing pieces of chalk at the students shows.

Much as these practices cannot be generalized to all the teacher educators in all teacher education institutions, there is ample evidence to show that there is a justified need to revisit some of the attitudes, beliefs, and practices of teacher educators in institutions of education. The current practices seem not to promote efforts geared towards preparing a teacher who is empowered. The use of a grade as a means of control still prevails in educational institutions in Uganda where subservience is no longer a weakness but a strategic virtue for survival. This has many implications for national development in that a cadre of teachers who mainly imbibed a culture of silence and submissiveness most likely will pass on those attitudes and habits to citizens entrusted to their education. Similarly, students who emerge from such an education system internalize values, attitudes and beliefs that are slanted to the top-down orientation, expecting the masses to listen and take orders from them, denying them a voice in decision-making and marginalizing indigenous knowledge. It may be worth noting here that Balita, the teacher respondent who narrated the experience I am referring to, held the view that sometimes it may be right for the administration to come in and manipulate the students' elections to reduce opportunities for more radical ones to be elected. In other words, he does not believe that students can rationally and responsibly exercise their right of participating democratically in electing their own leaders. It also aligns well with the view that the masses are not capable of making a rightful decision for themselves without the guidance of modern elites.

One school administrator also expressed discontent in teacher education in the following way:

> *I think even the teacher trainers perhaps do not do a good job ...they didn't have that commitment in training teachers. Because the new people who are coming out are just a disappointment. ... Even the teaching practice is not there, it is absent.* [HM; July 28, 1995].

Further discontent in the quality of teachers and their training is yet echoed by a teacher educator:

> *... children are not trained to do things on their own and yet they can do quite a lot. Recently we had a child to child seminar and you would be very much amazed to find out how they conducted the seminar. ... they are not being given chances to do so. And this also ... echoes what kind of training teachers have had. Because their training was not a participatory kind of thing. They were also brought up on chalk and talk, ... and also to copy notes from the black board. So these teachers have nothing to offer to their children and I feel that if we are going to be talking in terms of quality education, these children need to be trained to learn on their own. Learning to learn I think is lacking* [Conference Participant; November 15, 1995].

The implications here are that the process of current learning both in teacher education institutions and schools have failed to promote independence among the learners. A primary school principal at a conference on Education for All reacting to one view commented that:

> *What we are facing is that colleges are now producing half baked teachers. We find problems, as you check the schemes of work of the teacher you ask yourself whether the teacher is really qualified. So my appeal is that the teacher educators who are around please when you go back home help us to produce qualitative teachers if we are after quality education* [Conference Participant; November 15, 1995].

Implied in her view is that the old generation of teachers were better than the current generation and therefore prepared better citizens who probably contributed to national development. Zinunura shared her experience concerning the teacher education program that

> ... *Our time we were doing concurrent diploma in Education. So education was mainly taken in 4th term. And that 4th term people were not serious, except that somehow we would read and pass. But we were not putting much effort, we would not concentrate much during 4th term. I think the time table was lax a bit. You would study in the morning and get the rest of the day free. But we studied* [HM; August 2, 1995].

Another participant noted that:

> *Instead of the child centered method which I think is a better evil we have teacher centered method which is pure lecture or if you are unfortunate there are even times when the teacher gives notes to other pupils to write on the blackboard for the rest of other pupils to copy* [Conference Participant; November 15, 1995].

One participant made the entire forum laugh when he referred to this approach to teaching by remote as "*Some form of distance education*". Among the students who a teacher leaves notes for them to be written by another student, some will become teachers to give continuity such teaching strategies in their classrooms. Some of the graduates of such "distance education" have already qualified as teachers, busy reproducing themselves.

The view that the quality of education has suffered in Uganda comes to the fore. But mainly, the analysis remains situated in the modernization paradigm echoing a nostalgia that the old generation of teachers was better quality than the present generation of teachers. This was advanced by Obadia but Bwengye challenged his belief that the system is consistent. Similar sentiments were pronounced in the Forum on Education for all by Kajubi and one school principal that the problem of quality is located in the new generation of teachers. There was also a tendency of aggregating the problems of education to lack of funds, e.g., in terms of resources and materials to prepare and remunerate teachers. Admittedly, all these are necessary and vital ingredients for the well being of the whole education system. Nonetheless, mere funds cannot be a panacea. In which way do the past generation of teachers and the present one subscribe to different principles and paradigmatic orientations? What is the paradigmatic orientation of teacher education in Uganda that guides policies in their planning and implementation stages?

4.5. Participation in professional associations

In the interviews with teachers, attention focused on the kind of associations they belonged to, and how they perceived them as useful instruments championing their cause in as far as their professional growth was concerned. The single teachers' association that can claim to be operating on a national scale is the Uganda Teachers' Association (UTA). According to the available official documents of the association, UTA's objectives included some of the following:

> (a) to unite teachers; (b) to promote and maintain the interest of the teaching profession and safeguard the interest and welfare of its members; (c) to render the teaching profession attractive to the rising generation of Uganda; (d) to secure the solidarity and extend the influence of the teaching profession; (e) to aid/ or affiliate with local/ national/ international bodies connected with/ or interested in the education of the child; (f) to maintain a high standard of qualification, to raise the status of the teaching profession, and to ensure that all the educational services of the country are open to the members; (g) to provide means for the cooperation of teachers and the expression of their collective opinion upon matters affecting the interest of education and the teaching profession; (h) to enable members to receive fair treatment in whatever part of Uganda they may be working; ... (p.16).

With these objectives guiding UTA, the association claims to be involved in activities of "promoting the individual rights of teachers and providing him security; improving conditions of teaching and salaries; improving educational standards and increasing professional competence among teachers; encouraging teachers to form, run and promote economic social services; and conducting leadership training workshops" (p.17). As later analyzed, whether UTA has lived up to its expectations is a question often posed by teachers in their narrative.

There are other organizations also that exist along side UTA. The prominent ones are the Teachers Parents Associations, Headteachers Associations, Principals' Association and some subject teachers associations like Science Teachers' Association. Teachers Parents Associations are limited to each particular school, that is, each school operates its own independent PTA. PTAs function as voluntary associations mainly concerned with the welfare of students and teachers and the overall development of schools in Uganda. The significance of PTAs has been identified with "maintenance of schools by providing them the much needed financial support." (Government White paper, 1992: 208) The recommendations of PTA are required by the Ministry of Education to be approved by the Board of Governors before any action is taken on them. But consideration in terms of reference for the purposes of this study will be confined to the views from teachers on UTA and PTAs' of the schools that participated in the study.

4.5.1. Teachers and Uganda teachers Association (UTA)

Teachers in one focus group were asked for the associations to which they belonged. Kobutesi responded as follows:

> *They introduced the Uganda Teachers Association but I don't think it embraces the majority of the people. Most of us, we are there but we don't subscribe to it. Because most of us don't have an association that can bring us all together. There is no way out, we can't join it even if it is here in Kampala. It is not easy to get in touch with all the teachers in Kampala. And people are sort of committed after school so you cannot freely get time to interact in the associations and they don't have a solid ground where you have someone representing you here and there in those meetings of the association. They are rare in secondary schools. Maybe in primary schools because we usually hear them demonstrating, we hear them meeting* [TR; July 27, 1995].

According to Kobutesi, UTA has not been able to mobilize teachers to achieve the optimum level of solidarity. Her tone depicted dissociation and detachment from the organizations dealings. She was convinced that UTA had failed to organize, later on mobilize teachers who currently were pre-occupied with survival which is one of the objectives UTA has not been able to help teachers to realize. The struggle for survival as portrayed by the respondents seemed to be too overwhelming to allow teachers to come together and reflect on their plight collectively. Kobutesi voiced currents of disunity between primary school teachers and secondary school teachers. Worth noting here is that it should have been the duty of UTA to unite all teachers irrespective of their ranks to work together in solidarity for the development of the education system and national development. When I asked Kobutesi why associations were not given time as other commitments, the response was:

> *There are no initiatives to begin that. There are many ways of looking at things and people feel that maybe they are satisfied in the job sort of, resenting being more reactive and in such a way maybe it helps them because they keep cool in the background while those who react still don't get out what they want in those associations* [TR; July 27, 1995].

According to her, both the active and the passive do not get anything useful from UTA and other organizations. In her view, she did not see the advantage of being active since neither the passive nor the active had succeeded in transforming UTA to serve them better. She did not consider that her passivity was a very big disadvantage to the active ones whose solidarity and collectivity were constantly undermined by projecting the active members as self-seekers instigating trouble where everyone was silent and happy. In other words, passivity was on the side of those whose strength lay in the disunity of the teachers. UTA was not able to attract teachers to identify with it or feel that they belonged to it as refusal to subscribe to it tended to imply. The attitude of the passive teachers was like that one portrayed in George Orwell's *Animal Farm* where some animals felt that "whether there is a wind mill or not life will remain the same". This attitude of despair has implications for national development. Asked whether associations were considered useless, another teacher Apia said:

> *An association is very vital only in that we are lacking committed people as teachers so that we can really make a firm association. This one which is there is very irrelevant it is on paper just. It is not a practical one, it is quite inactive. ... I am not sure of the background of UTA. But possibly it is dominated by people who were initially in the primary section. They are the ones who started it, It is a very old one* [TR; July 27, 1995].

She recognized the vitality of an organization but felt that a dedicated cadre of teachers to make UTA functional was lacking. Though UTA was viewed as unpractical and inactive, the dichotomous categorization of "we" and "they" of primary teachers and secondary school teachers undermined the possibilities for a united teaching cadre.

Another view from one Kobutesi was that:

> *... even if UTA was strong in secondary schools it wouldn't mean much because each school tends to organize and satisfy its working class according to the capabilities of the parents. So if a school has strong parents who can contribute so much then the teachers will be better off and they won't need to join those associations. Because the association is attached to the Ministry, if they find out what they are doing and they are trying maybe to discuss and get raised payments or are trying to get accommodation, food allowances, or donations then the Ministry will intervene and it will be firing back. So the secondary group prefers to keep in the background because each school has its Board of Governors where they discuss and see how to uplift the standards of each individual teacher in the school, The parents may want to give us as much as they can but the Board of Governors have to sit and approve how much to give. ... At times it may not be even the Board of Governors but the Headmasters .. may be so mean and they do not want to release the money* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Inequalities in the schools in terms of PTA support increased inequalities among teachers based on incomes. This undermined their already weakened coherence to act together in solidarity and bargain for equality. In the absence of a viable UTA, teachers have clustered around their schools and PTAs' are looked at as part of the solution and substitute. This has further undermined the already shaken legitimacy of UTA's existence among teachers. It therefore remains almost impossible for teachers who teach in schools with the richest parents ever to rise and struggle with teachers who work in schools attended by children of the rural and urban poor and demand justice and equality. PTAs have filled a vacuum that UTA created in itself, and taken over its membership.

From Kobutesi's point of view, the training orientation teachers received from schools and teacher education institutions did not account for the current indifference teachers depicted towards UTA and/or forming other professional associations. That if anything:

> *It is mainly economic shortages. I doubt if it is training- not training. Because in training I don't think they stop you from making associations. It is the hardships teachers go through that make them feel that it would be worthless to join such an association because it may not uplift their standard of living. It is a waste of time. If you can find an alternative to survive, so much the better. ... long ago teachers didn't go in for this jumping up and down, doing business; they would concentrate on teaching. But you find instead of being at school someone has to jump up and down to make sure ends meet. So one has no extra time for associations which are fruitless. One would rather go in for something tangible* [TR; July 27, 1995].

According to this participant, the impoverished and disempowering condition teachers found themselves could explain their failure to form formidable professional associations. Associations were identified with verbal gymnastics that could not directly be translated into a tangible meal for a teacher's starving family. The routine fragmentation of a teacher's time he diverted from his professional activities to struggle for survival in the wider society contributed to his deskilling - a process that deprofessionalized a teacher by reducing his interest to learn new things for professional growth and undermined his or her contribution to national development (Bacchus, 1996). All these were some of the goals UTA set itself to accomplish so that teachers could best be able to contribute to national development.

From the perception of Kobutesi, the aim of associations is

> *... to improve the well-being in terms of finance, in terms of training, in terms of accommodation.... That is why the secondary group has resented UTA because they don't benefit from it so much.* [TR; July 27, 1995].

For her, UTA's concern should be to uplift the well-being of teachers which indeed is one of its objectives. The tone in her voice was of alienation and indifference to what UTA was doing.

Another teacher participant, Rushanda, felt that as teachers:

> *... we are at different levels. Some are well to do, others have indifferent attitudes, others are busy moving from school a,b,c,d looking for money. They have no time for such an organization and they even know that even if you formed it none would listen to you. .... And in any case we are divided. There are some teachers who come from well paying schools. ...when you are agitating for a higher pay they doesn't see why they should join you. Another thing is associated with embezzlement of funds. ... an association like that one, each teacher is asked to contribute a certain amount of money. So teachers look at such organizations as enriching a certain group. So they don't want to part with their money.*[TR; August 3, 1995].

The above view depicted some elements of inequalities, mistrust, materialism, individualism, and mismanagement as constraints to the formation of a viable teachers organization or association. They have worked hand in hand to undermine the will and the spirit to work collectively for improving the image of the teaching profession through viable organizations and associations.

As earlier noted, secondary school teachers looked at primary school teachers as the 'other' in relation to 'us'. They believed that UTA was a monopoly of primary teachers and that they isolated secondary school teachers. Hence, there was no united and common front to articulate a common cause or goal among teachers. Asked whether she felt that secondary school teachers had anything in common to share with university teachers, Kobutesi said:

> *Haa... Those ones are above us; we don't even think about them. Sincerely, we don't think about university teachers. No. Because for them we think when the government is giving, it isolates them. Those are different people so we don't have any connection with them or relationship with them. And when they are complaining. " Eh! You produce us bad students! You don't do your work!". I don't think it helps. I don't think there is even a desire to join them because they are already catered for by the government and isolated from the rest* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Although university teachers regarded themselves as teachers in some respect, secondary school teachers felt that they were not one of them. Kobutesi felt that the government valued university teachers and remunerated them in a preferential way compared to school teacher. Furthermore, instead of expressing solidarity with school teachers, university staff were viewed as blaming school teachers for turning out poor students that join university. However, teacher participants and policy makers, also attributed some blame to the university for producing poor teachers.

Apia was asked whether she felt that as an individual teacher and a change agent, her contribution would be in position to improve the way UTA operated. With pessimism she observed thus:

> *Yes. That is possible, but the problem is that if I could find an alternative that can raise me more money, why should I struggle for a cause which will not benefit me much at all. If one is to benefit anything it will be so little and after a long time. If I can find an alternative so much the better* [TR; July 27, 1995].

For Apia, rather than struggle from within and collectively, it would be better for her to act individually by directing her energies into something that would yield to her more and immediate returns. According to Muhenda, Apia, and Kobutesi, they expect someone other than themselves to do good things in the profession for their well being. And since there is nobody forthcoming to do those good things for them, they have resorted to search for survival outside the profession. These alternatives for survival are inimical to professional growth. As Apia pointed out:

> *The economic strain has forced us to develop divided interests. You can't concentrate on something that is not worthy surely* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Asked whether in the educational institutions they attended were encouraged or instilled in them a spirit of working collectively, the response was, "*We live in a competitive world*". Similarly, Muhenda said:

> *Not much. There was nothing much. The only time maybe you do group work is when you go to a practicum and you are supposed to produce similar results. But otherwise, we always do competitive work whereby you want to get more marks than your friend. So even the way you do your work- you try to cover it - at the university level where people were trying to make sure that you just pass, somebody will get points [vital information or facts] and hide in a room and lock it., and make sure he reads his essay alone so that he can be better than others* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Though in one of the preceding narratives a teacher felt that education institutions do not discourage collaborative effort or cooperation, the subtle forms in which the hidden curriculum functions undermined forms of solidarity that would be vital for the survival and strength of groups and associations. I recall very well my school days when we would be beaten if we refused to tell the teacher who was making noise during his absence. One time I resisted being used by a teacher as a spy on fellow students during my secondary education. I now realize that if I had accepted, my association with my fellow students would have been undermined. Asked whether they competed collectively, the response was:

> *Not collectively, Though we have heard a few cases maybe where we can compete like sports and all the like. If it's the school to win, it's all of us. The credit comes to all of us* [TR; July 27, 1995].

The attitude of teachers towards the association depicted self-centered interests which prevailed over the collective good for all the teachers. In seeking solutions to their problems, teachers have retreated as individuals to seek individual solutions that cannot work in a situation that requires collectivity if a more durable solution for social problems is to be found. What Mamdani (1985) pointed out in his analysis of the plight of the peasant should be instructive to teachers:

> My basic point is that, so long as they look for individual solutions to what are in fact social problems, they have very little choice given the social relations they are trapped in. What are these relations? How and when were they created? Can they be changed? (p.93).

The alternative to individual solutions to social problems as Mamdani has noted lies in collective effort in organizing for change which one female teacher, Kukundakwe, in a rural "Third World" school expressed thus:

> *We can start off but even if it does not become effective just within this year but the future may enjoy the formation of such a teachers' association and we try to cooperate. It might not become effective very soon but maybe it will help* [TR: August 9, 1995].

This voice of hope of a female teacher appreciated the difficulties contingent upon transformations that struggle for justice, equality and human rights not only for teachers but all human beings. No matter the obstacles, the frustrations and slowness of change, teachers need to act collectively and dedicated to keeping the struggles for a more just, compassionate and sharing world. Why is such a view needed? Historically, despite the unevenness of popular advances on different fronts, it has been generally true that the biggest gains in any particular sector have come when many sectors were pushing at once, in solidarity. The dominant groups always seek to divide such efforts. For instance, if the battle over remuneration can be confined to the various categories of teachers in terms of qualifications, gender or, more generally defined as a matter of individual advancement in a competitive setting, then the larger pattern of inequalities in every dimension will only be reinforced (Wallis, 1996).

4.5.2. Teachers Parents Associations (PTAs)

Teachers Parents Associations are another form of association with which teachers were identified. In a conversation with Ndegami, a teacher from one of the rural located schools, I probed to establish whether during PTA meetings parents ever asked about the suitability of the curriculum to which their children were being exposed, and his response was:

> *Most of these parents don't ask about the curriculum because the majority of them don't know what the curriculum is. So, some of them may not understand what the curriculum is when you even venture into explaining to them what the curriculum is, and its loop-holes* [TR; August 10, 1995].

On further inquiry whether the curriculum was too hard for the parents to comprehend even if it was explained, his view was:

> *Okay, if someone probably labored to explain to them they would understand. I don't under-rate their capacity to absorb but it wouldn't be helpful to them because those PTA meetings mostly are convened basically to talk about the development of the school* [TR; August 10, 1995].

Bekunda was asked whether parents ever questioned the relevance of the curriculum and he said, "*I don't remember ... any thing connected with that.*" It was also interesting to find out from Bekunda what he thought was the reason why parents didn't question matters concerning the curriculum and he said:

> *Ignorance. You see you question what you know. But if you are ignorant - you see in the past before this evolving of decentralization, there has been this tendency of people to leave everything to the government. The government will do it; if it is medicine, the government will provide* [TR; August 9, 1995].

Bekunda believed that parents' ignorance was at the heart of their silence on curriculum issues. He further believed that parents were dependent on the government to do things for them and that they were more or less addicted to that attitude. This view is not entirely convincing since the government depends on parents to run schools it has indirectly abandoned. He was even contradicting himself because he said parents were the chief financiers of his school since they supplemented his salary and his staff, and were the ones who inspected his work, ever since the government partly abdicated its responsibility of remunerating a teacher adequately. It was also considered prudent to ask the Headmaster what he considered to be the genesis of such a mentality among the parents that the government would take care, and he attributed it to the:

> *Irrelevant system of education. I think what brought that one - you see most of the parents who have children here in one way or another they have passed through this education system* [TR; August 9, 1995].

This headmaster held the belief that a person who passes through the education system in Uganda does not gain more awareness and sensitivity to the problems that face society and education:

> *Hah [laughter] ... In fact you become more insensitive. You see what I feel what should have been the role of education is to re-awaken, to expose you so that you become more inquisitive, you become more curious and critical. But that element is not provided in our education system. We are really not made to question things. In fact this element of problem solving - I don't think there is much to do with that. That is my personal way of judging things. In fact if you asked the parents what is the problem with us, if you had say an audience of 200 parents and said you tell us the faults of the education system, if you are lucky you may not get more than two who may think it is faulty* [TR; August 10, 1995].

Probed what he thought about teachers who had passed though the same education system, his view was:

> *The teachers - you may get some. But if they are say Grade III's and II's you will not get any. Perhaps if they are Grade V's and University graduates, some would be in position to say this and that. But they [meaning parents] would say that what we know that is faulty about our education system is that teachers are not teaching. So that is the personal assessment* [TR; August 10, 1995].

He was of the view that people with lower qualifications were incapable of commenting on the curriculum. This administrator fails to connect the issues such that teachers are the primary agents and instruments in the education system. So the parents are not terribly wrong in apportioning blame to the teacher, albeit not that the teacher should entirely take it. Webb and Sherman (1983: 23) have noted that "parents suspect that the decline in the academic performance may be traceable to the academic deficiencies of teachers themselves".

Although a number of authors (Dore, 1976; Carnoy,1980; Bucchus, 1988) have documented evidence that parents in South nations like Uganda still look at schooling as a passport for their children to jobs, it does not mean that they are totally insensitive and disinterested in a vocationally "relevant" curriculum. If anything they have been caught up and forced to accept the irrelevant curriculum as an imposed and legitimized rite of passage in the structures of a system, well knowing that jobs are hard to come by. From the time I was a school boy, parents would for instance ask a question like this one: "If you don't know how to milk a cow, of what use is your education? Why am I wasting my money paying school fees?" I am convinced that such an 'illiterate' parent is questioning the relevance of the curriculum. In other words, the concept of the curriculum is known to the parent in real praxis. But according to a teacher or a school administrator, he felt that parents would not understand the curriculum as it is technically handed over to a teacher for implementation. This, again, is the top-down mentality of the 'expert', relating to the "ignorant" masses. However, as noted in another section of this thesis, some teachers recognized that some parents were more knowledgeable than teachers even in a teacher's particular field of specialization, especially in urban areas where a good number of parents have had higher education compared to the rural parents this respondent had in mind. Probed further what kind of development he had in mind if the curriculum was not at the heart of the development process of the school, the response was that

> *... the curriculum is also tackled briefly because after those meetings have been convened, then the Headmaster tells them the performance of their children - how they have performed and if it s a poor performance they keep quiet and if it is a good performance, they feel happy. For instance, during the last PTA meeting the Headmaster introduced to them that the performance of S.4's was encouraging. Indeed he told them that those in first grade were six and we had no failures and they were happy and they managed to increase the PTA allowance to teachers a bit as an encouragement. So that's how the curriculum is talked about. ... On the side of academic, they first ask about enrollment - is increasing or decreasing. I think enrollment and then if the enrollment is increasing they praise the Headmaster. Because a school cannot stand without students. Like the last PTA meeting they thanked the Headmaster that the school is booming up* [TR; August 10, 1995].

The curriculum is tackled briefly in terms of statistical figures without interrogating what the figures represented. The kind of knowledge, skills and attitudes and their application to the needs of the community were issues that the PTA debate marginalized. One Ministry official who visited this particular school counseled the audience that such new schools should not compare themselves with schools which were cerebrating their 100th anniversaries like Gayaza (an elitist girls school) [Field Notes, August 27, 1995]. In the Rostowian fashion of evolutionary stages of development, he reminded his audience that these schools for the poor children would grow slowly and catch up with schools popularly known as "First World" as if these schools were waiting for the Third World ones. According to him, "*mpora mpora ekahisya omunyongororwa ahaiziba*" meaning, slowly by slowly reached the worm at the river. With this consoling statement, the policy maker was underplaying and legitimizing the glaring inequalities between the "Third World" schools and elitist "First World" schools that through stages of development the poor schools will attract qualified teachers from the "First World" schools and catch up. Probably instead of being called "Third World" schools, they will become "NICs" when they catch up. Whether catching up or developing slowly will be possible for such schools and compete favorably with the impact of structural adjustment on the social sector and budget cuts that have mostly affected the schools attended by the poor and malnourished children is questionable (Grootaert , 1994). For years to come, education and other social services towards the poorest are likely to remain least attractive to trained teachers. Hickling-Hudson (1992, p.1) has counseled that "educators committed to equity need to bear in mind such discrepancies if they are to address the socially significant inequality of opportunities and outcomes in the school system."

Another area of concern during PTA meetings was elaborated by Ndegami as follows:

> *Then another area which they talk about are buildings. The Headmaster tells them his plans about building, they even inspect the school premises. Then they also talk about finances. The Headmaster gives them the budget, and he shows them how he is using the school funds. Recently when a certain parent was commenting he said that this Headmaster is wonderful. He is the only one who can give the balance sheet in every P.T.A. meeting. And indeed it is true in other schools that at the end of the meeting the Headmaster tells them "sorry I haven't made the balance sheet, we shall see it next meeting." They keep on postponing. Then another thing they talk about is the behavior - discipline in the school both among teachers and the students. The teachers are also indisciplined. There are indisciplined cases among teachers. If the students are indisciplined then those cases are also attended to* [TR; August 10, 1995].

Bakebwa was of the view that the major work of PTA in school was as follows:

> *Well, PTA is supposed to be bringing the thoughts of the parents and the teachers together. But we have come to realize or to take PTA as something which is supposed to be paying something to the teacher. In fact that is what we are benefiting from PTA - just getting my PTA . And we are doing*

> *it just because we want to supplement on our salaries* [TR; August 24, 1995].

Asked whether PTA meetings ever engaged in discussions on the curriculum, the reply from Nduru was that unless things are from the top-down, nothing can be initiated at the grassroots:

> *.... all these should originate from the top, the government. If the government prepares something on paper and sends the gospel down, the parents will combine with the teachers and other people, then things will be put in order. But the parents alone cannot start such* [HM; August 24, 1995].

Another teacher contended thus:

> *I think it depends on the type of PTA executive. Some of the people we have in meetings say in this school and others of the "Third World", you find the chairman is a person who completed P.6. You can't talk to him anything about capitation grant or he is not even interested to know how the PTA money is being used. He is just there as the chairman. Now what he provides probably is given to him by the person who usually invites the meetings say, what the headmaster is concerned with. He does not know what is being taught in a secondary school or what should be taking place from the beginning of the first term to the end of the year or what the teachers should be doing. So what remains strictly remains to be the work of the Headmaster. So with the PTAs' we have in Third World you might complete the whole year without seeing the chairman. Even the people on the committee, you find probably the most enlightened are the Headteacher and the teachers' representing teachers* [TR; August 24, 1995].

In this school, the PTA meetings were conducted in the local language spoken in the community. According to the respondent, the chairman in PTA meetings acted as a rubber stump for the headmaster. Asked whether it would be difficult to discuss the relevance of the curriculum, the response was:

> *Usually the talk is mainly on PTA money, and them on some buildings and discipline - but not on the curriculum. The curriculum is always out* [TR; August 24, 1995].

The policy of government as far as PTA is summed in this statement:

> Headteachers should not use PTAs merely as a source of funds for running the school. They should involve PTAs more in welfare and development activities of the schools (Government White paper, 1992, p. 208).

But from the views expressed by the participants, PTA has remained as a source of continuously dwindling scarce resources for schools. It is even for that reason that they became significant organizations in most schools. From the views, beliefs and experiences of the teacher respondents discerned from their narratives, PTAs are viewed as being there to supplement teachers' salaries and engage in some structural development in the school. However, the dialogue/meetings marginalized curriculum issues on grounds that parents were not in position to comprehend the issues involved. PTAs also did not reflect the aspect of solidarity as to be drawing parents and teachers together.

Although teachers were the experts in the school setting as far as implementing the curriculum was concerned, some parents felt they employed teachers by virtue of the fact that teachers depended on PTA allowance to supplement their miserable salaries. In this case, there existed asymmetrical power relations between teachers and parents whereby parents were viewed by participant teachers as the boss. Indeed when a teacher became undesirable to some influential parents in PTA, it would not be difficult for them to instigate a transfer of such a teacher from that school. Hence, in reality, parents were not totally dominated by the teachers as "experts". It also depended on the location of the school and the composition of the parents that sent children to the school.

4.6. Teachers as intellectuals: conformist or transformative?

The role of teachers as transformative intellectuals did not seem to feature prominently in the views shared in these narratives. In large part, respondents presented views that did not feature critical thinking, reflection in and on action both inside or outside the classroom and beyond. For instance when a school administrator and at the same time a classroom practitioner was provoked with the following question: "You have said that the curriculum is irrelevant. Why is the teacher not demanding for a relevant curriculum?", Bekunda replied:

> *The teacher is teaching what is prescribed, what is authentic, what is real and legitimate according to the rules and regulations. In fact that is how the syllabus says - the rules and regulations of the Ministry of Education and sports. So he teaches the material he has been given to teach. ... he has not been given relevant material and that he has refused ... And mind you, even this is the curriculum he himself was taught* [HM; August 9, 1995].

According to Bekunda, change should be defined and defined from above so that teachers implement it, passively. A teacher is regarded as a technician to implement the curriculum without interrogating the basis of its knowledge apolitically as if it was neutral. He views himself as a conveyor belt of the curriculum he himself was taught. It could be argued that the same process he passed through domesticated him by not equipping him with an interrogative stance. Bekunda was of the view that for a teacher to question the relevance of the curriculum would be an additional burden to a teacher:

> *But I don't see why you want to give a teacher an extra load. ... it is really outside his scope of work or his jurisdiction. ... for example to have that vision what you are researching into, it has been there for quite some time. And now you got bothered and said but why have people never bothered to look into this - at Ph.D. level. Now, how many of my group of workers do you think have that vision of that training. I am not excusing them but I am saying that you have to bear in mind that not every person really has been trained to that level of going further than where he is and start asking, "But don't you think ...". And in fact when you are interviewing you will even come to people who will say that "we don't see any problem with our education system." They are there.* [HM; August 9, 1995].

This tallies with elitist thinking that it is for highly educated people that conduct research and question things. It carries the notion of the expert/specialist that is typical of the modernization paradigm. Socrates never wrote a word, but was a non-stop philosopher and was a victim of Athenian democracy, not that he had acquired what in present day are degrees, but he had cultivated and developed a critical mind that was prepared to interrogate, problematize situations that would otherwise have been taken for granted in his days. The people of Athens hated Socrates because they hated his questions. I recall very well how my grandmother Jureina used to tell me that "Before you do anything or say anything, question yourself, ask yourself why, and what are likely to be the implications. And when you have finished, ask yourself whether you derive satisfaction from the effort you have injected in the activity." This initiated the on-going process of building an interrogative mind I am still searching. I, therefore, don't think Schon 's (1987) reflection on action and in action says anything significantly different that required of me, if it were the only thing, first to travel across risky oceans to pick the same idea my grandmother reminded me of almost everyday in our tuition-free, democratic, practical and unprogrammed classroom. However, this is not to say that my grandmother is generalizable to all Ugandans as it has been admitted in some parts of this thesis that some Ugandans have accepted a passive attitude to thinking that does not lead to empowerment and emancipation.

Another example of a source of local knowledge, attracting less attention, is indigenous technology whose custodians are running out of stock as they grow too old and pass away with their knowledge undocumented. Mzee Nathaniel Ndunga, 77, is said to be the only survivor of the original mining clan in Tooro, Uganda (New Vision,8/10/1995; Karugire, 1980: 128). The view that teachers can not problematize and transform their working situation therefore needs to be placed in its real context of the education system that may be acting as a rite of passage rather than preparing citizens who have developed a critical mind to deal with real life situations. For instance, an Engineer from Makerere University may not value and appreciate Mzee Ndunga's technology by regarding it as "primitive" and "backward" when actually it was producing an indigenous hoe, promoting self-reliance whereas credential-based knowledge has largely remained problematic, irrelevant, inappropriate, unadaptable, and non-sustainable because of its predominantly foreign-dependent nature (Chambers, 1983; Alatas, 1993). There is a lot of unwritten information known to marginalized indigenous people and local communities whose cultures constitute precious intellectual property that form the core of their oral knowledge that has long preserved their life even in the worst imaginable natural and man-made calamities (Biesele, 1994). Bekunda candidly went on to explain that:

> *... the philosophy really embedded in the irrelevant curriculum is not as open as we are saying now. You see on the surface when you see the curriculum, you may not easily identify where the fault is - not an ordinary eye can all tell that - for example now we have always had a cry that there is unemployment, the government is not absorbing people, have you seen people question that why should we have many sociologists, why should we have many administrators when there are so few available jobs for that? Do you see? But how many people - your work mates... that have that awareness?* [HM; August 9, 1995].

The fact that Bekunda recognized that the curriculum was irrelevant and that not an ordinary eye could unveil it meant that it required a critical eye to see the underlying multiple meanings that sustain such a curriculum unchallenged. It requires a critical eye, not a "robot", to borrow the Deputy Commissioner's word. As Apple (1979) instructively points out, neutral education cannot, in fact, exist. When work is done on the content of the educational curriculum, when methods and processes are discussed, when plans are made, when educational policies are drawn up, all these are political acts which imply an ideological choice; whether it is obscure or clear is not important.

Boona, a teacher educator, was asked what the School of Education was doing in order to prepare teachers with a critical paradigm of teaching and the response was the following explanation:

> *When you talk about us creating critical thinkers then the situation becomes difficult because creating or producing a critical thinker begins at school and it is a result of the kind of environment a student is exposed to. And the environment we expose our students to here some times makes them more of passive participants in the class right from the time when they are in*

> *secondary school up to the time they are here. Because like when you look at the questions we ask the students, research questions, examination questions or course work questions, they are sort of recall questions that require memorization and - you know, the teaching we give them we never get time for discussions, we never get time for tutorials for people to give their views and develop the critical thinking.*[TE; September 9, 1995].

According to Boona, a foundation was lacking at all levels in the system of education on which to cultivate and develop critical thinking among the students because of the examination driven curriculum. She went on to add that

> *What happens is that we lecture to them, give them information that they are supposed to memorize and reproduce later on in the examination room and get 90% and walk away with a first class degree without really being critical thinkers. The kind of teaching we have is, how do they call it, subject centered teaching. The institution is subject centered such that the student does not get this kind of mental development. So what they get is the memorized material, is passed on to the students and that they also memorize it and they produce it for UNEB and UNEB passes them and the trend goes on like that.* [TE; September 9, 1995].

In her view, the teaching that was subject centered did not promote the development of a critical thinking mind. Boona narrated that

> *In the Board of studies when we were going for teaching practice this year, the issue was how can we improve the performance of our teachers here in terms of other activities, ... issues like guidance and counseling, ... extra curricula activities etc., rather than just concentrating on the academic work. So nothing has been put up as far as I know that can be able to help us train teachers to become the ideal teacher that society expects of us.* [TE; September 9, 1995].

The School of Education, according to Boona, was aware of its inadequacies in preparing teachers who can contribute to national development, but probably the awareness was in the modernization paradigm. She made a point that there was nothing going on in the form of praxis to produce for society a teacher who is a transformative intellectual.

Nevertheless, possibilities of teachers and other educators and educationists becoming transformative intellectuals were available and indeed could serve as potential helping factors to form ripples for transforming the teaching profession in Uganda. This was mainly evident in the teachers' candidness and willingness to talk about their experiences and expressed a willingness to change, given a facilitating environment. They expressed resentment toward the culture of silence and indignity they are forced to endure. The fact that they initiated intriguing questions that reflected a willingness to dialogue and seek solutions collectively indicated a possibility for these teachers to take on the critical paradigm of teaching. The following question from a Grade V teacher in one of the rural schools is worth citing here:

> *So far ...we have analyzed a problem of lack of coordination and integration of the needs of the environment and institutions. Now, how can we or what can you recommend as someone who is doing research to be the possible ways through which we can integrate the needs of institutions like this one and the needs of the environment?* [TR; August 10, 1995].

The environment he was referring to is the school community relationship which he felt was in disharmony because of the current curriculum organization. The feelings expressed by Nduhire, a teacher, in a note he handed to me at the end of a workshop for participants in this study render weight to my optimism that there are possibilities for ripples of transformative intellectuals to tap and build on:

> *Mr. Akankwasa,*
> *As I leave, I wish to thank you for having availed to me the opportunity to attend this educative workshop. You can be sure I have gathered a wealth of knowledge ...I will always remember this gesture with deep gratitude. May God help you in your efforts to achieve what you are trying to achieve* [Workshop participant; November 12, 1995].

The words contained in this note were very supportive to my efforts much as I believe that my writing to such teachers who participated in this study expressing my solidarity with them would be rekindling, and in a way building a community of dedicated educators for a more just and democratic society based on values of sharing and compassion in Uganda. Indeed much as I could not write to each individual participant, I wrote through Head teachers to express my solidarity, and as a follow up in corroboration with people I would like to work with on my return to Uganda. The views expressed by a headteacher could also partly give credence to my assessment:

> *I can see that you have a rich perspective of what really would encompass a good change agent teacher should be and how that good change agent for development of our nation would be, my question is, after you have really done your research and you have compiled your findings ... because researching and putting information in the library and stock it there, there is how I feel that society is cheated. Now what plans do you have as a person and as a lecturer ... you have better venues and better platforms ... unlike us here because you see my confinement, this is the area I have, ... how do you think and which avenues do you see possible ... so that these rich ideas could really be sellable on a national level and even beyond* [HM; August 9, 1995].

The belief held by Bekunda that a lecturer had better avenues to disseminate his findings is informed by the modernization paradigm that those who are on top should and have better audience than those who were at grassroots level. Such analysis is consistent with his earlier views that a teacher in the classroom should not take on the burden of questioning the relevance of the curriculum. Would Bekunda consider it a burden of a worker or a peasant at the grass roots to query the wisdom of growing cotton instead of potatoes and beans for his malnourished family? As pointed out elsewhere, Bekunda is not the only respondent who believed in a top-down bureaucracy whereby policies were expected to come from above. However, it is through people like Bekunda that my findings can reach the grass roots to teachers, students and parents, if ever they are to reach a wider audience. Asked in which way he was convinced by the ideas, his reply was:

> *I really subscribe to them because I have already told you that there is need for government to appreciate that given a chance people have views which are ignored and which would improve the system. And there is also even need for the government to know that there are people who are neglected and who are aware that they are perpetuating a curriculum which is already irrelevant* [HM; August 9, 1995].

Bekunda pointed out that the curriculum was "irrelevant" which is parallel to the critical paradigm of relevance. The fact that he also expressed interest to enter dialogue openly and recognized the issues and problems that challenged the teaching profession identified him as a potential transformative intellectual. The questions that he was asking also indicated that he had room for taking on challenges of a critical paradigm of teaching. There was room for both old and young teachers to learn new things.

There was willingness on the part of teachers to participate enthusiastically in all we were doing in the workshop. Participants were very happy, both the young and old teachers as they shared experiences of their training as teachers which tended to reflect similar antecedents. What is lacking is to have more frequent opportunities in facilitating and sustaining their interest in the task of transforming their beliefs, attitudes and practices. The sentiments expressed by another teacher, Baguma, could also partly give support to my assessment:

> ... *I have just discovered one thing; that we as teachers we have so many problems amongst ourselves that we need to sort ourselves out first before we can actually go out and fight for our rights [laughter]* [TR; August 9, 1995].

Some policy makers who participated in this study were beginning to realize that a docile, passive, robotisized teaching cadre is not an asset but a great liability that one cannot be relied on for any serious pursuit of goals of national integration and sustainable development. Dunggu, a policy maker, was asked whether there were some efforts being made to produce an empowered teacher who had a critical mind that was highly needed to prepare an imaginative, creative citizen that would contribute to the desired development and he said:

> *That is where we are moving. I must admit that it is part of the colonial killing that was committed. The teacher in Uganda was made to be a reader of other people's books, not even a reader to understand but a reader to cram, a parrot. The teacher was meant to cram formulae in Physics, in Chemistry other than deconstructing it. So we are trying to change that but that is part of the colonial system. In a colonial system, or let us put in a system where there is exploitation you must not make a thinker, you must make an admirer, you must make a non-thinker, you must make somebody who is just driven around like a robot* [PM; October 3, 1995].

Dunggu also added that

> *... we have started by re-writing the teacher training curriculum to suit again the national goals. The primary teachers curriculum has been re-written now it is still in draft form. It is imbued with other areas which will now open up our teacher. [2] we are trying to make our teachers come together. For the first time teachers in Uganda have never come together. We have had a UTA, a Uganda Teachers' Association which has remained in limbo for so many years and I think when we were in that workshop you saw the need for those teachers. So really we are trying to encourage teachers to form associations, professional - not for the sake of fighting or what but for the sake of professional exchange of ideas and also to enhance their image and also their lives and their work.* [PM; October 3, 1995].

In addition to teachers' associations, Dunggu mentioned another opportunity he considered available for teachers to become transformative participants in national development:

> *But at the same time there is a national program which has been sensitizing people throughout the country. It is popularly known as Mchaka mchaka. Now a lot of our teachers have attended. Now Mchaka mchaka is a sensitization program to change the thinking of our people to creativity, to analysis, to constructive criticism. Now when we have done that fully, and now by the way it has been put in the national constitution, that every Ugandan will have to undergo military and political training to enhance them, to empower them with the capacity to protect and defend the constitution in this country* [PM; October 3, 1995].

Furthermore, Dunggu recognized the need to

> *... change the teacher's attitude ... you must remember that we have not been having in-service courses. So if a teacher didn't pick it from a teacher training college or he picked it wrongly or it was not given, during the time in the job the teacher has not been helped to enhance that capacity. We are now starting with seminars, workshops however short with a clear vision* [PM; October 3, 1995].

Dunggu's views were evidence that teachers have been starved of opportunities for further growth in their profession, particularly given the fact that a good number felt that preservice teacher education programs were inadequate in preparing them as competent transformative intellectuals, even as competent "technical" teachers. The view of Mchaka Mchaka (national military training) by the same policy maker as a sensitization program to change the thinking of the people and make them creative and analytical was contested and challenged. One strand of the advanced arguments viewed NRM government political education and military science courses as seeking "to indoctrinate officials in NRM positions" and students, including the view that political parties were responsible for Uganda's civil conflicts before 1986. There are also unconfirmed reports that the techniques used in some of the courses included intimidation, physical and mental abuse, and sexual harassment" (US. Department of State, 1996; New Vision, 22/10/1995; Monitor, 23/10/95). Some of these views were also pronounced by some participants at a Conference on The role of the Law in National Development in Uganda [Field Notes; October 25, 1995].

The view maintained by some policy makers I talked to was that there is no country in the world that has no ideology to guide it and mechanisms to disseminate that ideology to its citizens. The views which discredited *Mchaka mchaka* were mainly from people who have never participated in the program (New Vision, 22/10/1995). However, the fact that Mchaka mchaka is predominantly slanted to top-down pedagogical approaches makes one suspect its instructors/lecturers of doing more imparting/"banking" than employing participatory/dialogical methods with the participants. The issue here is that dialogical strategies create spaces for participants to develop critical thinking and to form their own empowering and emancipatory knowledge while those who depend on knowledge imparted to them passively might receive pre-determined knowledge, without their input that lends it more to indoctrination. Does Dunggu see empowerment as "autonomous" and not with government as "decision maker" or determinant of its parameters and development? The program, however, still could explore more democratic/participatory oriented approaches so that participants - teachers, students and others develop critical thinking skills, values and attitudes that can make them contribute in building a democratic and just society where human rights are observed for all human beings living a dignified life based on self-determination and self-reliance.

There are some spaces and possibilities that one would call helping factors that are available within the system to build upon and prepare teachers who have a willingness to undertake the tasks of a critical paradigm of teaching by professionally playing the role of transformative intellectuals. The fact that some voices from the Ministry of Education and Sports have started encouraging teachers to form unions raises optimism. Nevertheless, these efforts need not be taken uncritically. The new teachers' organizations can become co-opted, domesticated and fail to live to their expectations like fostering teachers participation in matters that affect their lives both at work and in the wider society. For instance, the seminars which were dominated by lecturing teachers for two days with teachers' passive participation were not necessarily empowering. The recitation and rehearsal of the students' national anthem and school prayer uncritically did not create spaces or challenge teachers to rise questions regarding the assumptions, values and realities and other constellations embedded therein (see Appendix C-2). It was given a neutral status and no teacher appeared to question its content, meaning and message in relation to realities such as inequality in the wider society (Macedo, 1993). For instance, the chorus of the national students anthem runs:

> We young Women and Men of Uganda
> Are Marching along the path of education
> Singing and dancing with Joy together
> Uniting for a better Uganda.

How are the hungry poverty stricken children who "study under the tree" to sing and dance with joy together with those in elitist schools and unite with them for a better Uganda? What does a better Uganda look like with ugly inequalities? It is for this reason that such critical awareness becomes instrumental for a teacher to be able to rise levers of skepticism in himself/herself and the students under his/her guidance and care.

Hence, there is a need for constant reflection on actions with the purpose of increasing levels of genuine participation, justice and respect for the collective contribution of all teachers for the well being of the perceived organizations that will come in place. The organizations should not be yet other means and forms of (re)producing control mechanisms instrumental to those in power to demand subservience, passivity, docility and their likes from the teachers. The organizations should be democratically empowering. Otherwise, falling short of that, they would be liable to face UTA's fate. Nevertheless, this transformation can only take place and become meaningful if other structural changes simultaneously take place as facilitating or helping factors to implement it. This would call for more economic justice for teachers and a general reallocation of resources to education.

4.7. Social context of teachers' work

A teacher's identity unfolds in a context of social, political, economic and cultural realities in society. Some of the views and beliefs which were expressed by participants in the study and people who participated in other forums are presented in this section to give a diverse range of opinions that have had, and still have a bearing on teachers' identity in their effort to contribute to national development. Some teachers felt that the government of Uganda was institutionalizing inequalities and widening the gaps between categories of teachers and undermining the would be helping factors to build communities of solidarity among them. In Mirama SSS, teachers in a focus group said they were very pleased to see me. They expected me to take their complaints to the higher authorities. They believed that I was in position to put in a word for them which would make them get housing allowance the government had denied Grade V teachers. I felt depressed and challenged so much as I listened to their problem. Much as I knew I was not in a position to solve their problem, teachers had hope in me as Baguma's narrative testifies:

> *I was saying that you have come at the right time because we have faced many problems and of recent we have had one major problem. Recently, there was housing allowances for graduate teachers and most of us here are grade V's. So we have felt that we have been sidelined because we have not received that money. And I don't think the government has very good reason to give for it. Whether it thinks that for us Grade V's we don't have to live in houses is what we don't know. So, by the way, we have been demoralized. So, we have been looking for a way of airing our views. That's why I said it is an appropriate time now that we have seen you. So I don't know whether you will have anything to say about it* [TR; August 9, 1995]

Nevertheless, I tried to ask some of the Ministry Officials and expressed the views of the teachers regarding the inequalities that went contrary to the stated aspiration of balanced development enshrined in the newly promulgated constitution. The response of one of the officials was that salaries and housing allowances were the responsibility of another Ministry of Public Service [PM; October 12, 1995]. Another official who advanced a different view said that the aim of the Ministry of Education and Sport's decision intended to deal with university graduate teachers by "*giving them something reasonable*" in form of housing allowance and then "*deal with the diploma holders later*" [Field notes; August 27, 1995]. This reflected divisive elements of the teaching force. When I was back in Canada, I wrote to some of the school headteachers to inquire whether the policy was upheld or had been reviewed. But to this writing, I have not yet received any response from them. However, my writing to people who participated in the study as ealier mentioned was also to express my compassion and solidarity with them as fellow human beings struggling to achieve justice, equality and indeed their human right of being treated fairly and with dignity.

Similarly, Muhesi lamented that:

> *... this type of education is becoming irrelevant because the teachers, ... have become too much marginalized such that they even develop inferiority complex and because of remaining backward financially, those who pass through our hands eventually begin to despise the education they were given by them* [TR; August 9, 1995].

In which way does the social environmental context in Uganda facilitate teachers as potential change agents to develop a more positive image, a belief in the importance of their role as teachers in their own contribution to society, and in their ability to influence students to become effective learners and active citizens? According to Iremera,

> *... these policy makers know these things. ... they were not taught to behave as they are doing now. But there are certain conditions which force them to ... blindfold themselves but they know things. They know what they are supposed to do. So, I don't think teachers taught them badly* [TR; August 9, 1995].

Tibenderana, another teacher, gave another perspective:

> *I have a slightly different opinion. I do also think we have been unfortunate probably most of the policy makers are not the right people. I believe there are some who have passed through the hands of teachers and they are good people but probably it is unfortunate they have never had a chance of having to be the drivers or the policy makers. And these fortunate ones who are the grabbers are the ones who have got that chance and they have been misusing it continuously. But otherwise, I don't think the problem is with education, it is with them. Probably the accidental part of it* [TR; August 9, 1995].

In the conference on Education for all, one Education Officer submitted the following plea:

> *My concern is on teachers. When we talk of education for all and even if we talk of any other projects or program we actually also refer to education by all where by all we include teachers, parents and everybody who is concerned. I believe that the success or failure of any of these programs will depend largely on the teacher and I am very very concerned now about the state of the teachers in this country. The conditions under which teachers are working ... for instance in some districts the teachers month is 90 days, in others it 30 days, in others it 25 days. ... Just as I speak now [November 16, 1995] in my own district teachers are being paid for September. There are other teachers in my own district who have not been paid for the last 17 months. And every time things are not explainable, not even by the treasurer. I would like to ask you Mr.Minister to give us an answer if you can if you have an answer now on what the Ministry of Education is planning to alleviate the problems of the teachers. Because if these problems are not alleviated, these programs will come to nothing* [Conference Participant; November 16, 1995].

The Minister of State Hon. Babu in the Ministry of Education and Sports responded at length and in detail as follows:

> *Let me start by saying this: that yes I and many people in government agree that teachers are not well paid. That is the bottom line. What are the problems? Many. First of all there was the economic malaise of our country. Two, the none payment of taxes by our countrymen and women. Three, the corruption tendency of some of our staff within the education management system. ... We can get loans from any foreign countries to put up structures and infrastructures. We can be helped in up grading our teachers, in starting special education systems, in starting up all sorts of things. But we can not borrow money to pay salaries. The salaries have to come from our own resources. Those resources are based on two revenue generating areas: first taxation, two, the things we have to sell ... like coffee, tea, cotton, and so on. ... we have accepted to rehabilitate this economy under conditions; we must increase our wage bill as per our growth. If we over shoot the wage bill, we shoot our economic gains. Therefore, our wage today, and I don't want the teachers alone to think they are the ones who are badly off [lawyers, the audience chipped in], I will come to the lawyers, I will come to URA, we know all those that you use normally are having the problems including the doctors, teachers all the civil servants are all having the problems. A teacher and a secretary all suffer.* [Conference Participant; November 16, 1995].

He reminded his audience that

> *... Now there are some people who have been given special attention and the first category is Uganda Revenue Authority. The second category are the judges and the Attorney General's Chambers. Why?... It is the teachers who teach the lawyers. ... Not that we wanted to treat a special group but there was a reason why it was done, rightly or wrongly it was done. Let's take an example of URA, ...* ***they realized*** *that there was a lot of leakages and there was no money that was coming into the purse of government. First* ***they realized*** *they had to remove the taxation from government and*

> *form an authority which would be independent. Two,* **they** *had to give these people reasonable salaries so that they could collect our revenue. ... so that we could quickly increase the wage bill. ... Some people say they are still corrupt, yes they are but they are being sacked every day. They are being put in prison everyday. So don't take a wrong thing as a description of a good policy. ... Because even Jesus was sold for 30 pieces of silver.*(emphasis added) [Conference Participant; November 16, 1995].

He did not tell the audience those he was referring to always as "they realized". Could it have been pressure from external forces? He went on to justify discriminatory remuneration in favor of judges that

> *... From that point there was another reason, why judges. There is this money which would come in and we would send it to the districts to pay teachers and the money would go to buy coffee, they would lose the money and teachers would never get their salary. That thing is called corruption. ...There is what we call the trinity of people who can fight corruption. The first one is the police [the audience laughed]. Second one is the Attorney Generals Chambers, the PPD, and the third one is the judge. These are the only people. You and me can sit here and talk about corruption, none of you is qualified to fight it. The man who is qualified to fight and who is trained to fight corruption is a police officer in the CID or the Special Branch - the Anti Corruption Unit. The man who can prosecute these cases is the PPD and his staff whether you like it or you don't. And a man who can sentence these people for us with still a little bit of care is the judge. We now, had a reason whether rightly or wrongly as I said earlier on to pay the judges and the Attorney General's Chambers substantive money to help us to plug the leakages. Have they? There is a great improvement* [the audience murmured in disagreement] [Conference Participant; November 16, 1995].

Before analyzing the views expressed in the above response, it will suffice to cite a contrasting paternalistic statement by Ndamukong (1965) who was then Minister of Education of Cameroon:

> Before I conclude, let me state that my Government is deeply appreciative of the part played by the Primary school teacher. I can assure [you] that in your salaries and conditions of service, we shall strive to the utmost to reward you fairly for your services consistent with the available wealth produced by our economy. Education is the best investment, and it will produce good dividends to the nation. We wish you to give dedicated and devoted service to your school, your Agency, your Government and your country. Concentrate on your work, to the exclusion of all disintegrating factors, including politics, and produce for us the citizens of tomorrow (p.395).

In a typical modernization/technocratic belief, the experts who are the police and the judges were viewed as the only ones "qualified" to fight corruption. The rest of

Ugandans who are non-technical on corruption did not have a role to play in the fight against corruption. The ministry official held a mistaken belief that experts alone were in position to fight corruption and succeed without the cooperation of the entire citizenry. It is the citizens, to a certain extent, that are currently supportive as participants in a culture of corruption, and it is when the masses work hand in hand with the formed organs that corruption can be fought as a national calamity or as a "a cancer" as President Museveni lamented. The corrupt officials in the ministry sabotage the education enterprise directly while those outside education also aggrandize the national cake and reduce its chances of being equitably distributed. This demoralizes a teacher who feels that he is condemned to teach other people's children some of whose parents are stealing what would bring improvement to all civil servants. In any event, the wisdom behind borrowing money to pay retrenchment packages and astronomical salaries to the judges, URA staff and to create highly paid jobs for expatriates needs also to be critically evaluated as an investment strategy, and also in terms of justice in a country whose constitution considers equal development as a right to its citizens. Isn't such a policy overly supportive of social and economic inequalities that undermine and contradict any efforts to build a democratic, just and equitable society based on "[b]alanced and equitable development" as it is enshrined in the constitution? (Constitution of the Republic of Uganda, 1995: 5).

As the proceeding views and narratives of respondents have demonstrated, teachers' professional identity is shaped by a wide range of complex issues that centered on their work and their lives. What was taught in teacher training institutions did not necessarily transform the majority practicing teachers since teachers continue to believe that teachers are naturally born, rather than educated to be good teachers through teacher education institutions. According to the views of the research participants, teacher education, seems to have had less impact on their teaching activity. The influence of the old teachers on their former students who eventually join teacher education programs seemed to have the largest significance. It therefore holds that if the methods of the old teacher were inappropriate, inadequacy will be transmitted and reproduced in the future generation of teachers. Teachers tended to identify themselves with low esteem, prestige, respect and low economic well being in society. All these undermined their work environment to participate effectively in preparing citizens who can contribute to national development. The fact that teachers did not identify themselves with any strong and viable professional bodies or associations also disempowered them. They were characterized by lack of collectivity and solidarity as a people with a common cause in the profession which in itself does not auger well for national development. Bacchus (1996) has argued that teacher education institutions in developing nations, teachers were not prepared to reflect on their own professional practice with a view to identifying their weaknesses in teaching and to engage in efforts to correct their deficiencies. Such reflection could provide the basis for improving their professional practice, especially if the teachers are also trained to engage in activities that can assist them with their own professional self-empowerment.

CHAPTER 5

LIFE IN SCHOOLS

5.1. Introduction

This chapter focuses on life in Ugandan schools as it is narrated by teacher participants from the schools that participated in the study. An attempt is made to explore the internal dynamics that shape perceived realities about schooling. As teachers narrated their experiences, they raised issues of and concerns about democracy, discipline, gender, and other social relations. The chapter is therefore a presentation of what was observed in the school setting by interacting with teacher participants who work in these schools and by listening attentively to their views, experiences and beliefs. In particular, this discussion thematically explores the following: school climate in relation to dimensions of democracy, authority, discipline, gender, socioeconomic differences and ethnicity; pedagogical inclinations of the teachers in secondary schools; teachers' participation in planning decisions of the curriculum they teach; and administrative dimensions of schooling.

5.2. Teachers' views on school climate

Under this theme, a number of sub-themes were featured in exploring the issue of democracy. These included student elections, classroom dynamics, silence as discipline, violence, patriarchy, and stereotyping.

5.2.1. Elections as democracy

In considering the question of democracy within Ugandan schools, among the important issues raised by respondent teachers was the nature of student elections. Kalema argued that in a classroom:

> *Through allowing students to elect their own leaders, representatives, class monitors, and so on ... that is where you bring in the institution of democracy. Because if you just appoint, then this brings hatred. The class may say that this is favoritism within the class* [TR; August 8, 1995].

Some teacher participants who were attending a workshop felt that schools would enable students to appreciate the value of democracy if only students were given opportunity to elect their own student leaders without interference from the school administration. The following views emerged from one focus group interaction as Ruyonga noted that:

> *Giving them [students] a chance to choose their own prefects, in that way, they are indirectly learning the skill of being democratic - electing their own prefects and their School Councils.*[Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

Then Mpurikize said that:

> *Some headteachers manipulate the democratic process by indirectly imposing candidates through tipping students to nominate candidates whom they will endorse for such positions.* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

Rakeri interjected:

> *He represents the interests of the headmaster but not the interests of the students. That is why you usually find that these headboys are puppets. Instead of presenting the problem as it is to the headmaster, he misrepresents the students by at times being forced to tell lies about the students. He goes to say, so and so is the ring leader. And the ring leader is in problems instead of presenting the real problem* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

In the same group, however, Balita had a dissenting view:

> *... that maybe where you find the administration sometimes coming in to manipulate the students elections, sometimes it may be right. Take for instance, students may connive with the particular students who are undisciplined as per records of a particular school and then they want to elevate them to positions of leadership definitely I don't think that if administration just looks on to see such students coming up to me I don't think they would make up good leaders. ... They may be particular leaders who instigate others to strike* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

Another participant, Karyeija, an enthusiast of the top-down technocratic paradigm, did not accept that students should participate in the formulation of the rules to govern the elections:

> *So much as the teachers and the headmaster are giving these students opportunity to elect their own leaders but they should before hand set some rules and regulations to govern the elections such that even students have the ability to follow set rules and regulations as they enter into the exercise. Such that they also have to choose responsible leaders instead of those hooligans who will ruin the school* [Workshop Participants; November 12, 1995].

He contended that the election of good leaders by students was dependent on the administration setting guideline rules for the students to follow. Much as some teacher respondents doubted the students' ability to elect responsible leaders, other participants did not entirely agree with such a low perception of the student body. For instance, Mpurikize felt

> *... that there should be set and agreed rules which should be worked by the students themselves in conjunction with the administration... Having personally worked in a number of schools, it is the teachers and the administration who determine the rules under which the students' leaders will be elected. And my point is that the students should participate in the formulation of the electoral rules* [Workshop Participants; November 12, 1995].

He was looking at students' participation in the democratic process by not only voting for their own leaders but also by formulating the rules that would govern the electoral process. There were other participant who also felt that the students' abilities were grossly under-rated unnecessarily as Ruyonga narrated:

> *Let me give you something I have observed over time. You can look at it from a classroom situation. When you say who should be the monitor or a class captain, these people will give you the best. Students themselves normally reject people who are crooked. They know that even when it comes to the elections. Only that we don't give students a chance. Unfortunately this is not what is happening in the school* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

For this participant, students are rational in electing leaders. The fact that students were not given a chance to participate and to exercise their right in a meaningful democratic process when electing their leaders underscores one aspect of the undemocratic processes of internal school organization. For instance, Rakeri held the view that:

> *In most cases the headmaster manipulates the leader. Instead of the leader representing the interests of the students, he is representing the interests of the headmaster such that there is a problem in the school not attended to and consequently this leads to a strike at some point in time, not that the strike is bad, but it is taking place because there is a problem in the school which is not because it is not known, it is not attended to, there is no interaction, and if it is known it is ignored. The whole situation is reduced into lack of discipline* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

Karyeija concurred saying that:

> *You see when these councils sit, they resolve some things and which things should be attended to by the administration. And usually what is the case with many schools is that the administration just turns a deaf ear. And eventually they cause chaos within the council and therefore instigating the students generally to be chaotic* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

Mpurikize shared his experience on election procedures in the school where he taught:

> *Usually those who would want to be prefects, the school administration advertises and those who want to become prefects apply. After that, the administration sits down and makes a list of the candidates and it sends that list to students usually two out of which students will choose one. But you see that is censorship at the first level. Now when the students have selected their own students, then the list goes back to the administration and the administration eventually decides on who shall be the prefect. So, it means that the administration has got the final say on who shall be the prefect. I think that is not very democratic. Secondly, students are not allowed to campaign. ... It has never been questioned by the staff because the headmaster said that it was within his discretion to decide whether the students should campaign or not. ... Because of the authoritarian nature of the headmaster, in the final analysis the prefects are a wing of the administration - actually they are a wing of the headmaster's office and tend to receive their orders directly from the administration. Consequently ... where the prefects have handled the students harshly, the administration has been sympathetic to the prefects rather than the students, except in very obvious cases* [TR; September 16, 1995].

Thus, as Ruyonga narrated, students do not participate genuinely in the internal school organization:

> *There is one thing I have known about administration. There is what they call listening and there is also listening with concern. ... very many of our administrators have given very little attention to students needs, teachers needs, school needs. ... How many times have students put up resolutions and the administrator has brought them together and said, "now let us discuss these resolutions? As students' leaders, you have demanded this, you have demanded this, but when I look at your school fees, and I look at your budget , what you pay - pay so much, we spend so much money. ... Don't you see this and this, don't you see new books coming up, don't you see this building coming up, don't you see food being served" .. Which headmaster has brought himself down and discussed with the students and listened to what students have to say and convinced them?* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

For instance, students in Kyamate Secondary School went on strike and ousted the headmaster from his official residence on grounds that his administrative practices did not reflect values and principles of participatory democracy. They accused him of introducing:

> ... arbitrary rules restricting students' academic and social freedom, divisive administrative methods, unfair dismissal of teachers and students and favoring cliques among staff. ... However, the headmaster attributed the major cause to agitation by *Kadogos* ,(young) NRA students, to retain unrestricted freedom of movement to town and other forms of indispline.(New Vision /16/8/1995: 11).

The majority of the workshop participants were inclined to conclude that:

> *There is lack of transparency in the schools, on the part of the administration. There is no trust; there is poor communication between the*

> *administration and the students and teachers. Divide and rule is predominant. The students have a lot of information that teachers do not possess. Sharing is part of the democratic process, e.g. sharing of a meal* [Workshop Participants; November 12, 1995].

Only rarely do the teachers view the administrative style in a positive light. For example, one workshop participant, Nduhire, felt that lack of tolerance on the part of the administration was justified:

> *Then you see in some cases these councils come up with ideological ... requests which are impossible which the administration cannot afford.* [Workshop Participant; November 12, 1995].

In this regard, "ideological" requests seem to be associated with controversial viewpoints that attempt to challenge the status quo. Lack of conformity, dissent and their likes that can eventually precipitate student militancy tend to be viewed negatively even if the students may not be at fault; and even when all the possible channels of communication had been blocked to them or rendered practically irrelevant to the impeding crisis. As educators of peace and conflict resolution have noted, manipulation or unwillingness to dialogue on root causes of conflicts will only lay the seeds for continuing and even more serious symptoms.

5.2.2. Classroom dynamics

Teacher participants were asked to share their experiences in relation to ways in which they tried to raise future citizens in a democratic way in the actual classroom teaching process Kalema, a history teacher, responded as follows:

> *In teaching we stress accountability whereby you present your views, students debate upon them; there is the question and answer method. You don't normally rely on the lecture method. So that is when I stress accountability. Leaders are asked questions and at times students challenge you intellectually. When teaching history, it is a group discussion although guided, that allows the students to discover for themselves. ... I teach history and because this subject requires a lot of reasoning and students and teachers have different ways of expressing their views. So even when it comes to marking itself usually it is not like mathematics where you have a definite answer. So you try to mark according to the views expressed so long as there is an idea. When I hold a discussion with the students I try to listen to students and encourage students to tolerate the views of others* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Musoke, a Political Education teacher, had this view:

> *... what I try to do is to allow everybody to speak especially those people with unpopular views, I allow them to speak. I always tell them that this*

> *one may be dissenting from you but he should have his freedom to speak his point of view. You should listen to him. Because although he is a minority now, who knows, his view could be right. Just being one among 90 who at that particular time don't agree with him doesn't mean that he is wrong. ... In fact more young people especially learn by examples than what you tell them. They learn by what you do. If you are democratic in your ways, they learn by those ways. Either in a family because some people have said that democracy starts in a family - how the father relates with the mother and the children, it starts there* [TR; August 4, 1995].

A teacher of Mathematics responded that:

> *Mathematics is a very good teaching subject. I think a teacher must be an example when you are in class. You are a manager of that classroom. I do set examples to the young ones by listening. You give a question, there are various answers. So, I do train students to be patient, to listen to other views whether weak or irrelevant or what, I have to listen. By so doing, I think, though I am not telling them that in future they you have to listen, they have to consider it by my example. ... You see as a teacher when you are in class you find there are some very good students. So naturally you develop some personal feelings to those people. But as a leader you should not show favoritism. You should be impartial.* [TR; August 4, 1995].

According to Mukisa, experimentation in Physics promoted a democratic spirit:

> *If you are supposed to teach democratically, you know in democracy in future you have to try certain democratic ways, to try them out so that if I try this method, can it work. So you bring in the importance of experimenting. You don't just take facts as they are, you try them out. If this works well you adapt it, if it doesn't, you leave it out. So, that is what happens in the classroom* [TR; August 4, 1995].

For Magezi, a teacher of English, his point of view was that, "*English being communication you train students to freely express their ideas*" [TR; August 4, 1995].

According to Boona, in educational institutions of all levels, the atmosphere was overwhelmingly undemocratic and authoritarian to prepare a democratic citizen:

> *There is no institution that can make you democratic, why, right from the time you enter school there is that authoritarian kind of atmosphere. As you go on that is what you meet throughout. ... Because democracy in schools would come as a result of the atmosphere that is in school and the role models that are in the school and the teaching methods that you use to teach these students. But if the teacher is always authoritative,... as an administrator the students have never been given chance to give out their views and no one has ever asked or appreciated their views, the views only come out during the strike times, demonstration times but in the general running of the school, the student's initiative, the student's ideas remain to him and he is not developed as a democratic man, as a democratic woman when he leaves school because the whole setting is dictatorial right from the time when the child enters school up the time he leaves the school. Like here in the school of education, we only have these general seminars that are*

> *open only to masters students. And to develop a democratic person at the masters level is even late to begin* [TE; September 16, 1995].

Similarly, Alensky (1957: 2) discussed the concept of citizen participation and advanced the argument that:

> The other anchor which must be dropped is, "the success conditioning" which again is part of our formal education and acts as a curse upon our working in ... any creative field. I am referring to the traditions of our educational background whereby the emphasis is to always succeed, to pass every course, to get the best grades possible, to succeed to honor societies and to avoid at all costs failure. In the field of citizen participation creative and imaginative thinking is one of the major requirements. This involves a willingness to experiment, which means not to fear failure but rather to accept it as a frequent companion to any kind of any experimental thinking. Failure becomes not failure, but simply a signpost pointing in another direction.

People who eventually become leaders and serve in various capacities - whether in civil service or the military were the current students who would serve in such responsible positions. How they were being prepared to play such roles in a democratic manner, including principles and attitudes of listening to others rather than vice versa would in large part depend on how schools are organized and operated on principles that genuinely reflect democracy.

5.2.3. Silence as Discipline

Teachers were asked to describe whom they considered to be a "disciplined" student, and Apia said that it was one "*who obeys school rules and regulations*". Another participant, Kabatesi was also of the view that:

> *Discipline is paramount. One who lives according to the norms of society. You are not a fighter, you are not abusive. You may be partly obedient. You can bend to school regulations. If they say you don't put in a cut*[1] *and you put in a cut, then you are not obedient. If you are supposed to tuck in, and you bring your shirt hanging out, you are not obedient* [TR; July 20, 1995].

Here, the element of conformity, or obeying and adhering to norms, came to the fore in the views expressed by participants. For instance, Bekunda argued that:

> *... a disciplined student is a student who conforms to what is accepted as good conduct by the majority - for example you have been here, I am accommodating more than three hundred students here - have you had any noise? ... Maybe you are not informed of the developments in the school.*

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[1] eg. it is a hairstyle that is not approved by the conservative element in the school.

> *Do you know that discipline is not "syllabused"? It is not "syllabused" anywhere* [HM; August 9, 1995].

According to this administrator, "noise" is associated with the absence of discipline and disorder. However, silence, which signifies a total lack of noise, may mean that those who are silent are conditioned by domination and oppression. As Freire (1983) puts it, "Many times silence works like a wall behind which the oppressed defend themselves against the invasion of the oppressors". Hence, the discipline that is equated with the absence of noise needs to be interrogated rather than uncritically taken for granted. The absence of noise, indeed, in an institution where "more than three hundred students" are accommodated might be enduring a culture of silence. Similarly, the view that a disciplined student is one who "conforms" to the will of "the majority" should be critically viewed or else the rights of the minority who may have socratic minds may be victims of the verdict of the majority (Younger, 1980). Bekunda also described a good teacher as follows:

> *A good teacher? Oh that is a very good question. A good teacher is that one who minds his work. When you are being given an appointment letter they just lay down what you are supposed to do, ABCD, and you are duty conscious, you are a good time manager, you come with your material prepared, you are respecting the school general time-table - what else do I expect from you? So that one is described as a good teacher because he is doing his work dutifully* [HM; August 9, 1995].

It is important to note that for Bekunda, a good student and a good teacher needed to conform to the rules and regulations as the given; a teacher should instrumentally adhere to what s/he is supposed to do as her/his appointment letter stipulated. The teacher is a change agent only if s/he is an agent of a given change by implementing it. However, Bekunda's description of a good child in her/his home was different:

> *A good child in my home is that child who is obedient and questions what he feels is unpleasant and who is honest and faithful and abides by the ethics of the home* [HM; August 9, 1995].

A teacher participant, Musoke, had a dissenting view on what a disciplined student was:

> *... although ... a student who obeys the school rules ... doesn't cause trouble, but normally we have found that people who are supposed to be disciplined are not creative at all. It is these stubborn ones or people who seem not to follow a normal pattern who turn out to be creative. They have ideas whereas the man who is disciplined does what you tell him. He has no ideas of his own. Usually eccentrics have ideas* [TR; August 4, 1995].

The description he attached to a disciplined student rendered itself to the socratic-critical thinking model that encourages tolerance, accommodates difference, and would allow some amount of dissent which are all important qualities essential for sustaining a democratic environment. However, the majority of the responses reflected control as a form of discipline. Students who resisted being controlled and managed were viewed as not disciplined. Students were also engaged in a process of negotiating their way through the system by different means, including counter-violence or silence. For instance, Twiine pointed out that rudeness was another tool of violence used to silence students:

> *It depends on the way you reply them. If you are rude of course they will give up. If you are not willing to answer their questions, then next time they will not ask.*[TR; July 27, 1995].

This culture of silence was also highlighted by Ninsiima who testified thus:

> *.... If only we gave them the chance. Or admitted that at times, this chance is never given. That at times, students are denied a chance to* ...[TR; July 27, 1995].

Similarly, Muhenda, a teacher of biology ,gave an example as to how she denied students opportunity to exercise democracy in the classroom:

> *Like now I am teaching the topic, reproduction, I told them that as long as we are in class, we are going to discuss the scientific part, the social part outside the class. They said, "But madam, we are going to run away". I said, " Yes, if you get me outside, you ask, but in class strictly scientific reproduction*[TR; July 20, 1995].

The views and experiences shared by teachers regarding discipline and how it is practiced illustrates a predominant culture of silence which students endure. However, the students were trying to find spaces for themselves, though teachers agreed that they were yielding none to them. The lived reality in the schools ran counter to the rhetorical democratic beliefs teachers earlier expressed in discussing the administrative environments in the schools.

5.2.4. Violence

I remember when I was in elementary one, I was brutally punished for my efforts to write with the left hand until I gave it up. To some teachers, being left handed was criminal. In high school, some of our fellow students were given punishments such as uprooting the stem of a fig tree and burying it afterwards. In expressing our solidarity with such colleagues, we would give assistance to him at night to work on the most difficult task that would require concerted effort. The risk included being expelled if caught expressing solidarity with such a victim being punished. In the administration's view, this served in part to separate the "bad" from the "good", and at the same time to weaken the students' collective identity through divide and rule. In talking with the participants, it was clear that despite the passage of time, there has not been much change in disciplinary strategies. For example, Nduru, a deputy headteacher noted that:

> *Well sometimes we cane them when it becomes too much, when it becomes too much. ... But here I am advocating corrective punishments. When you are caught drunk or intimidating your fellow students, I just give you a slushier. You go and slash. That one which does not humiliate a student is the best form of punishment. ... It makes you reform when - for example you can miss some classes - and you feel it because you are doing it at the right time when classes are going on. Then tomorrow you can reform* [HM; August 24, 1995].

Nduru believed that when a student misses classes doing manual labor as a punishment, it would help him/her to reform his/her behaviors.

For instance, in May 1995, it was alleged that a teacher and a headmistress in one of Masaka District schools gave a nine-year-old boy 130 strokes of the cane. This report received extensive attention and prompted widespread debate on the issue. The teachers were charged with assault. One of the strands of the arguments featured in the debates was in favor of upholding the cane as one of the disciplinary measures in Ugandan schools. It was further claimed that students (the victims of the cane) were also in support of upholding caning in schools as these stories inform:

> **Spare the rod and spoil the child.**
> This proverb tells us that one should not spare the rod in punishing the child, because the child will get spoilt. If this is true, then I don't see why some people are alarmed when our teachers cane us. At home, when I make a mistake which annoys my parents, they cane me and I learn from that caning not to repeat such a mistake. What should a teacher do to a child who enjoys fighting or beating his friends? Should the teacher just pat or embrace such a child and tell him not to repeat that mistake? If the answer is No, then the above proverb has a good meaning. A child must be punished for wrong doing. By Kironde Frank, P.6., Godwins Primary School. [The Monitor August 11-14, 1995].

For this student, since parents are also participants in the violation of children's rights, would teachers stop? In another letter, where another student is describing her best teacher, she writes in praise of him thus:

> **My best teacher**
> ... he helps in whatever you need, but if you do what he doesn't want, my friend! My friend you are in for trouble. He is not going to beat you but he

> is going to tell you to kneel down throughout the lesson, and this punishment is very painful. It can make you cry. If you want to be his best friend, do what he wants. He will solve all your problems. By Namubiru Nema Monica, Wobulenzi Parents' School, P.6 D.[The Monitor August 11-14, 1995].

For Monica, her best teacher expects her to do what he wants. In other words, students who are subservient, passive, and docile, from this teacher's point view, would be the best students. Some participants have argued that it is such female students, those who are socialized not to say "No" and are dependent on only the teachers word, who at times fall victim to defilement and rape by some teachers. The students seem to have been socialized to accept the status quo, without question, as a necessary condition if they want to grow into "responsible leaders of tomorrow" as the dream of education promises. In some schools, "Examination classes are given progessive tests every Friday and poor performers are caned to improve" (Monitor, 30/7/1995, p. 3). In the event of students endorsing the cane as a disciplinary measure in school, one needs further to reflect, from a human rights point of view, what influences students to nurture such beliefs and attitudes that caning (denying them their right) is a necessity if they were to grow into free, dignified, responsible human beings (Selby, 1987; Sunday Vision, 11/6/1995; Sunday Vision, 25/6/1995). In other words, violent, repressive and authoritarian methods of work in preparing citizens tended to be regarded as "commendable" in Ugandan schools by parents, educators and students. Could it be that such a people were socialized in similarly repressive institutions? The students' attitude toward caning also reveals how the oppressed, under false consciousness, find themselves supportive of hegemonic and undemocratic structures that keep them disempowered.

In a workshop on "Corporal Punishment and Defilement" for primary school teachers held in Masaka after the incident I have referred to, one teacher testified that as students, they themselves had been caned as they grew up in schools and they often attributed whatever success they have achieved so far to their previous experience of violent discipline. Hence, students and teachers are already victims of the violence in educational institutions that are used for their socialization. The teachers and later on the students they teach have adapted themselves to the society surrounding them which does not consider caning a violation of a human rights but rather views it as simply a disciplinary measure. Put differently, violating a human right is, in this case, perceived as acceptable if it is a disciplinary measure. As Edie (1983) has usefully noted, such micro levels of violence constitute adaptation to existing violence on a wider societal level, as well as socialization to a pattern which contradicts the requirements of a just and democratic society.

On one of the field visits at Standard High School, I had the opportunity to sit in the prefects' office. What I observed in relation to how prefects interacted with their fellow students surprised me. Prefects were very harsh, brutal and cruel to fellow students. There was a high level of authoritarianism in dealing with fellow students; the prefects exercised a lot of force and power to which fellow students complied with in an intimidated, subdued and subservient manner. The prefects could even be seen caning fellow students. I asked Mpurikize, a teacher, to comment in that regard and following was his response:

> *Recently a few questions were raised by the teachers in a staff meeting about the authoritarian behavior of prefects towards their fellow students - authoritarianismsuch as caning students, they could chase students from classrooms although there are class captains. If there was a problem prefects could walk in and demand from a teacher that a certain student must go out when a teacherhis there without being consulted. These issues were raised but still the Headmaster maintained that he had his discretion - he would deal with the prefects which tends to me to mean that surely teachers have very little to do with the school administration although actually they are an extension of the administration set up. Because in the final analysis, the subject teacher is the administrator of his subject, of his class* [TR; September 16, 1995]..

Some teachers in Standard High School were reported as active participants in violence against students. In some settings, teachers seemed to have compromised all their human values as Bandura's sad narrative revealed:

> *... we deduct money if someone doesn't teach [PTA allowance]. Even we had a case where one went in class and said nothing for the rest of the time. She demanded to be marked present saying "Since you mark me present that is enough I will do nothing". So, the monitor wrote, "the teacher sat and did nothing". When she learnt of it, she beat that child, rolled him in the dust very badly, canning with a stick. She rolled and rolled and caned him until he was all covered with dust. He reported to us and we talked to her. But then we knew what the frustration was. ... what is happening is that you want me to teach you, you want to mark me present, I will do my part, get my money and go. Whether students understand that is none of his or her business* [HM; July 28, 1995].

This does not only sound militarized but also irresponsible behavior. Bandura reviewed another scenario that depicted a militarized classroom:

> *One teacher ...was told that when you go to class and a student interrupts you when you are dictating biology notes, tear the book, and she did that. And they should not ask you. This is the bbiefing she got from the other teachers. So she went and started dictating Biology notes, which then the*

> *boys told me they did not know the spelling of certain words and you don't ask because your book will be torn. Then I asked her why she was doing that. Because, at least perhaps history but biology some of the terms are hard for the students to know the spelling. Then she told me that is what they told her when she came. ... So when I talked to her, she changed and there was no problem. So, I think it is the society you go into* [HM; July 28, 1995].

Muhenda, another teacher, also explained the violence students endured at Standard High school:

> *In some people's classes, I understand you are not supposed to laugh or to talk anyhow. If you are found making any comment, you are taken for punishment. Some teachers if you throw a comment she doesn't teach the whole class. She leaves the class saying, "I will not teach this class again if this is not done and what". But me I have never left a class on such grounds. ... By the way, some teachers if you are teaching next to them you will not hear any noise in their class. Me I don't think that is possible in my class* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Kabatesi, another teacher in the same school, concurred when she said that:

> *Some teachers are individually strict. These young men want to be free. If you harass them, they become rough on you and you won't even be able to like them. They can even lock the door when you are coming. You ask them and they look at you and keep quiet, you talk they seem not to follow because you have mishandled them* [TR; July 27, 1995].

In response to the repressive classroom environment, students have developed a strategy of resistance, or to negotiating the violence they have to endure in the name of gaining an education. Muhenda went on to explain other forms teachers may use to deprive students of a democratic learning environment by substituting it with repression and violence:

> *Some people go ahead and beat them with a cane and cause bodily harm to the student. Others book them, there is a book for booking students, or students are forced to kneel or sent out of class ... but I really don't like sending students out of class because they miss much more. Some students stop getting interested and they go away completely and I don't think that helps them. When forced to kneel, I don't think a student learns during that lesson* [TR; July 27, 1995].

The disciplinary measures that were practiced promoted a culture of violence, and violated students' human rights by taking away their dignity as human beings and causing bodily pain. In the process, they might be dehumanized and brutalized; which would not prepare them to be responsible citizens to participate in securing their human rights, individually and collectively. Although some parents, teachers, and students viewed caning positively, some members of the public did not as Byabamazima (1995) pointed out using his school days experience:

> Teachers beat us at any time, anyhow and anywhere. There was that teacher who would hold a pencil in his fist and then drill it hard in your head simply because you could not see how 2+2 becomes 4; or 'you hesitated to agree' that it is the earth that moves and not the sun. Woe unto you, if you reported to school late for whatever reason. .... I remember one of my classmates who received six hard strokes for the reason that his father had failed to pay school fees on time. ... Teachers seemed to be competing at perfecting their skills through a spree of battering our tender buttocks. That was forty years ago. So, this sadism you are hearing of today is not a new creation in our schools. It is just sad and painful that the situation has not changed.[New Vision, 24/6/1995].

The central thrust of Byabamazima's argument is that "torture and humiliation of school children [should not only] cease" with those privileged to go to school but the debate "should focus on corporal punishment on all children and perhaps even, on all Ugandans". His contention was that there were "many children outside-of-school who are being caned, beaten, and maimed by adults everyday". In which way does such violence contribute to nurturing citizens who will seek non-violent means of conflict resolution? How can schools promote violation of human rights and at the same time be democratic institutions where students develop democratic values and self-determination without being passive and subservient 'robots'?

5.2.5. Patriarchy

From the responses that participants gave and through participant observations in schools, the problem of patriarchy clearly emerged. The issues of achievement stereotyping, cultural beliefs, and sexual harassment of female students were prominent among views of respondents. Views were solicited to establish whether sexual abuse and harassment featured as an issue that impacted the education of girls in schools. Male teachers who taught in a mixed school were asked what factors attributed to the high dropout rates of girls and Nduru's respose was:

> *... I am still insisting on the role of parents. These parents have a negative attitude towards the education of their children especially within this vicinity. That is why we have several drop outs here. Because I am considering a class like Senior.I a class which started with 51 students and we are now having 42. Each term or each month we are experiencing drop outs. They don't necessarily go to other schools. Majority of the drop outs are girls and they go for marriages. So, the case of marriage is of paramount importance to the parents than the education of their daughters. Despite the fact that there is lack of money some times you can sacrifice. ... we are charging very little money which is affordable by a parent at the lowest ebb* [TR; August 24, 1995].

The view expressed by the male teacher implied that parents in the community limited the aspirations of the female child to getting married and locating her position in the kitchen. Nduru also felt that parents did not show a willingness to sacrifice for the education of their daughters. This view is also suggested by Bekunda who noted that:

> *.There is a problem of parents who are still discriminating against girls. In fact, if a parent has two children and he budgets and he finds he can not pay for both, he would discriminate against the girl and say that 'for you, you have after all reached marriage age, you are ripe for marriage. But my son can continue'* [HM; August 8, 1995].

Cultural beliefs reinforced patriarchal injustices that discriminated against female children both in the school setting and in the community. But partly, the views expressed by Nduru and Bekunda could also be explained by the curriculum, the pedagogical approaches and the school setting, all of which may not be sensitive to the needs of the female child. The belief that education is slanted in favor of patriarchal relations was confirmed by Boona, a teacher educator whose experience during her secondary school days was insightful:

> *Like in secondary schools I went to, I am using my experience, a rural secondary school, and in this school there was a general belief that the boys had to beat the girls in class. And I remember three times I went top in class and these three times I had to go away before the reports are given because I had to be beaten. We had a group of boys who said that if you beat me in class then I will beat you physically so that you know that at least I have to remain on top somehow. So there is this tendency of rejection, and harassment - there was a lot of rejection around the class particularly the male counterparts.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

The male student sregarded Boona's intellectual superiority as criminal and as needing to be punished and controlled. The male students were not being socialized to regard Boona as an equal human being to interact with and learn from; instead they subjected her to harassment. When probed how Boona knew her position in class so that she does not appear at school, her reply was:

> *We were few so I knew how tests results were coming and I had two people I was competing with, so I would know. And every time these boys beat me in a subject, they used to beat me in Mathematics and Physics, it would be jovial, they would feel that they have done something and they would make me feel uncomfortable. So there was a general agreement that no woman should beat us in class which was a bit too unfair.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

When asked whether she ever brought it to the attention of the administration, her response was:

> *No. It was my war. ... You sort of feel that you will fight it inwardly. You beat them and run away. ... But still when you look at what happens in schools, the girls have equal opportunity. Only that the girls are a bit disadvantaged knowing the kind of problems they have; emotional problems, more social problems and they are taken at an equal rate with the boys who are less attached to any of these problems. I mean, I would imagine if there was going to be any equality these girls would be given some more impetus, some more attention and helped to compete equally with boys. But the situation is left as it is and as a result you find that in the end there is inequality.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

Boona did not seek redress for her harassment as her cultural socialization seemed to require passivity of any 'sensible woman'. Apia, a female teacher was also of a similar the conviction:

> *... One thing I have noticed in mixed schools is that boys ... don't want a girl to challenge them. Any girl who is promising to be academically fit, they really don't like her. They want to sit on her.*[TR; July 20, 1995].

In one of my field visits at Standard High School, a female student, Kenjeyo, protested to a male student Mondo, who was riding his bicycle on the pavement meant for pedestrians. This happened because he almost knocked her colleague she was walking with. Mondo felt so insulted and infuriated by Kanjeyo's reproach, saying he was at fault. He threatened to beat her until the matter was brought to the administration. Mondo felt that his "manhood" was being challenged by Kenjeyo. At that time I was in the office of the deputy headteachers and had the opportunity of participating in resolving the conflict. What I observed was the deeply rooted sexist beliefs and attitudes which Mondo held. His sole aim was to subdue and domesticate Kenjeyo who was obviously unwilling to take her "proper" position in the culture of silence. Mondo was demanding an apology from Kenjeyo but it was not forthcoming. Finally, when the students left the office, the female and male deputies, who were mediators in the conflict, observed that though the boy was at fault, the girl also was not behaving like girls should behave. When asked what they meant, the female deputy said, one could tell Kenjeyo's un-female behavior from her "sharp" and "vocally assertive" character.

There was a pattern that revealed female students live under a culture of silence in the school setting due to sexual harassment. Boona's nasty experience of harassment in secondary school, which she did not feel free to report to the school administration, shows the kind of ordeal girls pass through. Albeit this is not generalizable to all cases, still many girls are not empowered enough to raise their voices and say no even when it is the best alternative option for them. As the cartoon (see Appendix C-3) shows, there is a tendency on the part of girls to suffer harassment silently, a concept rooted in the cultural norms of some societies. The patriarchal structures creates a hostile environment that obligates a girl to preserve her integrity by not reporting all the sexual harassment she has to endure in her school life, both from some male students and male teachers. The point here is that the self-preservation of patriarchy relies on sustaining such hegemonic relations.

Bekunda, a headmaster of one of the schools located in a rural area, was asked about the kind of problems related to discipline that he experienced in the school. He narrated as follows:

> *This is a mixed school and we have a problem of girls dropping out. This is because of two reasons; with the coming of this scourge of AIDS both the infected men and un-infected men want to poach on these girls. They are rushing for them. They think they are young and safe* [HM; August 8, 1995].

Asked whether he thought some teachers disturbed female students, his response was, "*Not here. It is not common*". Probed further if girls would tell him in the event of such a thing happening to them, the reply was:

> *No. You see around - the culture here if there are people who are trained to keep secrets or suffer silently, it is girls. So it is not common really by culture - by the way they are brought up they can be lose tongued on other things but not anything to do with things that concern them privately* [HM; August 8, 1995].

The view that it is a cultural habit for girls to keep quiet about sexual harassment needs to be revisited by situating it in the male dominant social structures. This would enable girls to acquire the necessary attitudes and awareness that would allow them to enjoy their human rights and democracy and begin to envision themselves as equals to boys.

In another school, a male teacher, Ndegami cautiously commented that

> *... The common disciplinary cases among teachers ... in most cases is sexual immorality between female students and teachers - but rarely. But we cannot rule it out. I have not seen it here but we cannot say that throughout the country it does not happen* [TR; August 10, 1995].

Male teachers were not very direct with their responses on the sensitive issue of sex harassment, and this partly explained why their responses were very brief and calculated and did not invite further inquiries. However, many cases of sexual harassment and defilement were commonly reported in the press, prompting one female woman representative to propose that such males, who defiled female students, should be castrated (New Vision, 24/5/1995; New Vision, 30/8/1995; U.S. Department of State, 1996). It has also eroded the integrity of the male teachers as 'trusted adults' to their female students.

Female teachers also appeared to have imbibed attitudes that entrenched patriarchal structures of domination and sexual harassment rather than promoting and being role models for the female students in the school setting. For instance, Kobutesi's views were revealing:

> *For example in my class there is a very rough girl she throws nasty points to the boys and the boys are complaining "But you madam why don't you tell this girl to change her behavior? She is throwing rough words to us and we don't feel good" So she tells them "don't boss me around I am also a student like you. I am strong." If they are talking she eyes them rudely. She tells them, "Temunzanyirako", "Temumanyira", "ha you, you are boys you think what are you?" So I think they don't like that. Some of the comments they can't tell me because she can't throw them when I am there. The girl can't say them. But the boys told me that she behaves like a charged bull.*[TR; July 20, 1995].

Another female teacher, Apia, replied, "*Maybe the boys are in love with her but she doesn't want.*" But her colleague doubted that saying, "*I don't think every boy in that class would be in love with her. She says she has the right to talk, to discuss and throw any comment she wants.*" Asked how the girl was performing in class, Kobutesi said, "*Fairly* ". Probed whether she felt that the vocal female student was potentially a "woman liberator" who lacked the necessary support to counteract the repressive and noisy boys, Kobutesi expressed doubt saying, "*... she would do a better job if she was not so rough because she needs to interact with those boys in order to challenge their intellectual ability.*" The impression I got from her led me to think that the female student was managing the boys, but Kobutesi disagreed saying:

> *... That is the impression you get but I don't think she is managing because when they back at her she feels shy. ... she is the only one who is slightly talkative and brighter among the girls. The others are shy and they don't want to talk openly. ... I encourage her. I tell her that I am encouraging you to discuss and talk freely but limit your nasty comments to those boys because you never know one of them could be your future-to-be husband and you may not like it. ...I am giving her a chance but you have to tell her that in a society a lady has to behave like an African lady. Because in the class the points she throws, how she holds herself is not acceptable in that society she is in. So she has to try and moderate ... a bit in order to receive information, to learn more.*[TR; July 20, 1995].

According to Kobutesi, some amount of passivity was expected from an African woman in order to be accepted by the male-dominated society. She keeps silent when male students "bark" at the female student instead of exposing such injustice. The female student in Kobutesi's class and Kengyeyo, were both engaged in direct resistance to the patriarchal domination imposed on them by male students. Neither female student simply accepted the inferior position assigned them. The female students were engaged both in passive and active resistance to attitudes and role allocations transmitted through the education system, a system that purportedly liberates both sexes as (Biraimah, 1983) likewise found in research in another African context.

Muduma SSS was started with the view that it would be a single sex girls school. But the girls who attended were very few, and some dropped out before completing S.4. Consequently, the school was turned into a mixed school. The argument advanced by one female opinion leader in the area, a university graduate and a role model ,told the parents and the students in her speech that:

> *Women themselves are the ones who refuse to put themselves up. ... you should know that there is competition and you should equally compete and also go to the university. You girls should study hard because boys and girls have equal opportunity.*[CA; Woman Representative October 27, 1995].

Though her aim was to inspire female students to work hard rather than depending on what Mies (1986) has called "a certain paternalistic benevolence in granting the 'girls' a niche in the system," her views still subscribe to the patriarchal model she was socialized in. For she naively believed that there is equal opportunity for both girls and boys in the education system. She believed in competition, the value that has been associated with the feeling of conquest that rests at the heart of attitudes that promote domination rather than values of sharing and nurturance (Gaskell, et al, 1989; Belenky, et al, 1986).

5.2.6. Achievement stereotyping

I asked Bekunda whether he found girls competing favorably with boys in the school curriculum. His response was:

> *No. You see this traditional philosophy of teaching of - you see our setting here has been over-emphasizing inequality that a man is a man. And through that upbringing somehow there is how it has affected the girls* [HM; August 8, 1995].

Implied was the argument that girls were expected to be "naturally inferior" to men. Kobutesi also held achievement stereotyping beliefs about female students:

> *Most girls have been a bit dull, and the boys have been brighter. So if you go to a class where they are all equally bright ... the girl will command more respect than the boy. ... You might find men don't like such dynamic ladies*

> *who are too vocal sometimes. ... They fear you. ... If you are going to compete with men, it has a limit anyway. Maybe she is doing it out of defense mechanism. It could be that. For example when I had joined this school we found so many bachelors here but they feared to approach us* [TR; July 20, 1995].

In one classroom where Kobutesi was teaching, I observed that some male students tended to suppress and shut down views of female students by roaring deep in their voices to make their dominant weight in class felt. This would force a female student to withdraw, leading her to yield to such intimidation. Girls did not continue to speak. Kobutesi did not care to protect such female individuals by creating liberative spaces so that they could freely express themselves. This classroom process did not encourage female students to participate fully and actively in class, nor did the boys learn to be tolerant to their opposite sex students. The misleading view that girls are generally dull therefore needs to be addressed with care or else becomes problematic. Kobutesi once suggested that students do some work during their private time so that the class could continue with something else. This would help manage the ever limited time, and girls were very supportive of the idea. But boys rudely yelled in defiance, and the proposal supported by female students 'died a natural death' as it was overruled. The female students had a point but the way male students yelled at them revealed the little regard boys had for female students as equal partners in the struggle for social justice and peace through the education enterprise. As a consequence of this domination by boys, it could be that such beliefs - that girls are dull when in reality they are denied opportunity to express themselves freely - are sustained. The girls who refuse to accept the dull label are the ones Kobutesi identified as being "rough." Unless effort is made to create spaces for them, girls will continue being subdued by patriarchal control which is not emancipatory.

Through stereotyping and active labeling, girls were expected to display more incompetence in certain disciplines than boys. This is exemplified by another female teacher, Birungi, who taught mathematics but held the stereotypical belief that girls don't usually like mathematics, as if boys had a natural monopoly of liking that subject:

> *I teach mathematics in a girls' school. So usually girls don't like mathematics. I don't know for boys because I have never taught in a boys school. But usually the stubborn ones are those who have already given up, who don't have the interest, who know that it is impossible she can't solve 1+2. And it also depends on the age. If you have 14, 12, 13 and then someone who is 18 and she is a girl then that one is a problem.*[TR; November 11, 1995].

One female teacher educator, Mbeo also noted that:

> *Some teachers praised girls when they scored an average mark in mathematics like 60% as good but when it was obtained by a boy, he would be reprimanded and told to pull up his socks that 60% is not good enough for a boy* [September, 1995].

Female teachers who participated in the workshop shared their experiences and stories about stereotyping they suffered during their school days. They fought hard to prove that they could do well in the hard sciences both male and female teachers believed was a domain for males. They had to defy and challenge the label of incompetence that was being imposed on them by the hidden curriculum in their schooling. What was observed at Muduma SSS during exhibitions of science demonstrations in the laboratory was that, male students dominated the show, with only one female participating [Field Notes; August 27, 1995].

Through the hidden curriculum, some teachers unconsciously gave more intellectual attention, praise, and academic help to boys than to girls. When boys called out comments without putting up their hands, teachers generally accepted their answers. Girls, however, were reprimanded for the same behavior that African girls should not act like that. The hidden message was that aggressiveness among boys is encouraged while it is discouraged among girls who are expected to remain composed and passive. The girl who vowed not to succumb to such male domination was viewed as a deviant and unwomanly, indeed as a "charged bull". In other words, according to the female teacher who actually served as a role model believed that women should not be self assertive or challenge men.

It has been noted by other educationists that teachers are twice as likely to give detailed instruction to male students on how to do something for themselves; with female students, however, teachers are more likely to do the task for them instead. The end result is that, the boys are taught independence, self-reliance, self-determination, and self-confidence while girls are encouraged to live in dependency (McLaren, 1989; Sadkev, and Sadkev, 1985). Such organizational dynamics influence school processes that undermine the fundamental right of equality of all human beings and instead subordinate women to men in society. Patriarchy emerged as one of the sub-themes in the study. From the responses that ensued in the various conversations I had with teachers and from observations within the school settings, a patriarchal structure tended to emerge, dominating and marginalizing female voices, even in a girls school like Ndoona.

Bekunda, the headmaster of Mirama, and the school's Board of Governors held the belief that female teachers would be a model for girls in the school:

> *I think I have 350 students. I have two female teachers and a deputy head mistress; 195 boys and 138 girls - recommendation from Board of Governors is that I should vigorously recruit female teachers so that they can be a source of inspiration to girls. There is that imbalance of sexes. So to bring a girl and confine her here, she may not like it. You ask your research assistant* [HM; August 8, 1995].

From what has transpired in the preceding pages, it should not be taken for granted that the mere presence and increased numbers of female teachers in the school setting itself would be enough to inspire female students to succeed in school. It may not be helpful if the attitudes and beliefs of both female and male teachers, along with parents, remained predominantly slanted in favor of patriarchal structural power relations. Since male teachers play a big role in most schools in Uganda, it would be timely to organize training programs that would cultivate values, attitudes and practices that are not sexist. The curriculum, textbooks and the whole school environment should follow suit.

However, the view that men are domineering, hateful, aggressive, and selfish while women are nurturing, caring and loving," as some feminist theorists in the North have argued, should not be taken for granted and generalized to all situations. It seems morality is essentially a matter of overcoming egoism, which afflicts both sexes equally, as Bandura, a female administrator revealed in her narratives where female teachers were also engaged in brutalizing students. The female teachers she referred to [under the sub-theme of violence] were no less brutal and aggressive than any male could be. As DeFaveri and Kach (1986: 143-4) have argued, "women given opportunity, will be as mean spirited, narcissistic and sadistic as men. And as noble, magnanimous and charitable." DeFaveri and Kach (1986: 144) posit that what is necessary is to insist that "human beings should abandon the various intricate ways in which they dominate each other and ... cooperate in ways in which all humans can flourish." To what extent are schools and teacher education institutions at the forefront in creating a society free from sexual stereotyping and sexual domination? In which ways have the people who wish to change other peoples' social practices changed themselves so as to act as models?

5.2.7. Injustice

There were practices which emerged from participants' responses that depicted the kind of injustices students put up with in their schooling. These practices deviated from the democratic practices teachers identified themselves as carrying out through their professional duties. Birungi counseled her colleagues that:

> *Now for the case of mathematics I think somewhere you can advise a student to stop attending. Because if you feel that even if you help him or her, he or she can't get anything why waste time on her. You tell him to read other things [teachers laughed] especially like now. We are remaining with three, are they three or two weeks? Then he will come with three dimension, with ..you know that even if you waste her time she cannot make it. So why can't you tell her* [Workshop; November 12, 1995].

According to this teacher, she would rather concentrate on those who are able to succeed, those who are good and smart, while ignoring those who are weak and are in need of most urgent help, even when they show interest. This clearly indicates that the learning process, in her case, is indeed for passing exams and not for helping a student acquire numeracy skills [in the case of Mathematics] that will enable him or her to deal with life ahead. Everything is quantified in the impending exams and the resultant grade. Even when the school has streamed the students, the class is further streamed by the subject teacher and this guides her or him to concentrate efforts on someone and to ignore others. I would like to recall my experience one time in high school when I asked my teacher to help me with a mathematical problem. When he came to me and saw my work, he declared me to be a case beyond repair and never attended to me. I felt that there was a tendency on the part of such teachers to concentrate on those students they have earmarked for getting good grades in order to bring the teacher and the school credibility.

Nevertheless, other teacher participants did not endorse the view of abandoning the weaker students. One female teacher noted, "*I would imagine that we should take the decision of the child very seriously, we should give it more priority.*" Dajo also added his voice in support saying:

> *Once a student has opted to take a subject, keep on encouraging him as a teacher up to the time he sits exams. Otherwise, never attempt to discourage a student from continuing to study the subject because this pupil once you as teacher has said stop reading this and go maybe to Arts that will bring a situation of despair. The pupil will say okay this is an F.9 already. Here it is a pass or a fail. ... so as teachers it is our duty to encourage. My duty is to encourage you, not to discourage you* [Workshop; November 12, 1995].

Karyeija observed insightfully how a brilliant student can suffer injustice due to lack of adequate responses from teachers:

> *You find that a teacher is not well equipped with the material and you find there is a brilliant student in class who would like always to interact with the teacher in terms of asking questions and whatever. And this is a teacher who tries to suppress the student thinking that the student is in a way challenging him or her. Then you fail to understand how you can really bring up that critical mind and deep thinking among the students. So as*

> *teachers I don't know how we will react towards that, because it has happened, and I think I experienced such even at the college. When you have come out of the Hsc you have left senior six you find the mind is still fresh and when a lecturer is giving whatever and then somewhere you feel maybe you have not understood you feel you should ask what and why, then there was that suppression also. Then finally when you go maybe you take it as the right thing as a method* [Workshop; November 12, 1995].

In other words, it is not always the so-called weak and dull students alone that are likely to get in trouble in school. Students who are also intellectually curious may face some injustice in class. In responding to the views expressed by Karyeija, Nduhire commented that "*some students are tempting a teacher to know how much a teacher knows.*" And when probed how he would differentiate between being tempted and sincere concern on the part of the student in seeking knowledge and understnading, the response was:

> *When you are teaching and a student asks a question that is not related to the topic you are teaching or he is reading a textbook when you are teaching, then it is a fact that definitely there is something wrong he is looking for; the student is looking for trouble for the teacher [participants burst into laughter]*[Workshop; November 12, 1995].

Teachers are not in a monolithic and homogeneous category even those who had same training and were working in the same environment. So, the majority decisions or responses to certain situations seemed to depend on individual personalities. For instance, Bandura viewed her administrative role as mainly to create a just and democratic environment in the school by mediating in conflict resolution between teachers and students:

> *I play that role as a mediator. I always want the teacher to understand the student's problem such that the student doesn't come saying that I have been slapped. They normally deny and say that the child is bad. I talk to both. It has helped me. I do some counseling. I have learnted to know the sentiments of people and I have seen that some are hot and others are very cool tempered. So I also don't rush to judge this one. I approach him so that he does not throw this child out of class for ever. I always tell the children that if you are thrown out don't stay away, you come to me, don't just sit there and accept defeat like that. Then I come to the teacher, don't throw him out. Give him a punishment and take him back* [HM; August 2, 1995].

In another development, Bandura narrated the misery and injustice that children from impoverished backgrounds endured in their school life at the hands of teachers who lack compassion:

> *They have very poor background, they are very poor, some of them pay their own fees. ... Because, there is one boy who looks very poor. Last week he was chased out. But today again the same teacher has thrown him out. He looks very miserable. ... He looks shabby, unattractive. At times they look the way they look at home. They are miserable* [HM; July 28, 1995].

In most cases, it is the poor children that look unclean and unattractive to teachers. Teachers' socialization which mainly was modeled on the traditional elitist values, tends to be devoid of compassion for the poor, and insensitive to the factors that force the poor into apathy.

Mpurikize was of the view that some of the injustice students suffered at the hands of teachers had its origin in circumstances beyond a teacher's control:

> *The time available to students is the same in the classroom. But very often you find that time is enough for a small group of people while it is inadequate for others. ... you would like to have some extra time with this other group but you don't have it. Either the school does not cater for that group, supposing it is a day school. Secondly, you have personal pressures. You have to make ends meet. You don't have the money to keep you there, to keep you going. You may have to go out to vend ... outside in order to get yourself some extra income to do that kind of job. Experience has shown that there are some students who have passed because they have had the money to do the job. They have not been properly satisfied in the classroom but because they have had the tools, they can engage teachers outside the classroom, they have managed to perform properly, to do as well as others* [TR; September 16, 1995].

Much as teachers professed more democratic and dialogical practices of justice and equality, the views in other parts of this study expressed practices that stand in sharp contradiction with those beliefs and with reality observed in the school setting. Mpurikize believed that the education system was promoting injustice directly and indirectly:

> *Our education system has maintained inequalities in society. ... naturally those who do not continue in the education system who drop out on the way feel themselves cheated,... they fear, they have the feeling of being rejects of society, of the system. ... those who pass are the victors naturally and they sit on the fence and congratulate themselves on their success* [TR; September 16, 1995].

Another teacher, Rakeri was of the view that:

> *When you are in class teaching you find you are not particularly associated with a particular group. In fact at times you are forced to form groups which groups will mix up students - the weak and the strong such that you don't have to associate yourself in class with particular students. That might happen outside class whereby some students come and approach you for private teaching and that kind of thing. But in class I think we teach*

> *uniformly. Because you don't block the ears of those who are weak; all of them listen* [TR; September 16, 1995].

Rakeri's belief was insensitive to individual differences in a classroom situation based on gender, social economic background, culture and a host of other factors that influenced the learning environment. She associated equal opportunity in class with students ears being open to what the teacher said. For her, the classroom was neutral and just for all students to warrant equal benefit from a teacher. As Block and Hazelip (1994: 6100) have noted, "Some teachers - ego-servers - believe that they are responsible for their students' success and not their failures." They go on to say, "In some ability-centered classrooms, teachers can brush aside low-ability students and concentrate on their more able peers." For instance, my experience as one who passed through the same education system in Uganda, and through the observations during the study, students who went for coaching tended to be treated a lot better by such a teacher than the students who did not contribute to his or her economic well being. The students who were coached motivated the teacher and he or she reciprocated both inside and outside class. As King noted, the things that take place outside the school even matter more than those taking place inside. Similarly, the things that take place outside the class may matter more than what actually is done in the class, particularly considering the view that some teachers lacked the energy to teach in class or reserved the energy and the information for private teaching which was popularly known as coaching.

I have also noticed another form of injustice during this study which paralleled my past experience. When I was still in high school, whenever a student heard that he had to visit the headmaster's office, the invitation was regarded as bad news, comparable to someone being summoned by the police for interrogation. Fellow students would tell you that "you are wanted". In other words, the ethos of the headteacher's office was hostile and repulsive. This has not changed very much in the few schools I was able to visit during this study. The same view could be extended to other schools in the country considering the high rate of maiming students and the incidence of other crimes that do not promote an environment conducive for justice. The atmosphere surrounding the headteacher's office is disempowering and is communicating authoritarian and asymmetrical power relations, particularly to children from poor backgrounds. In a field participant observation, I recognized how some pupils in one school feared to go to the administration office even with a genuine cause. At that time, two happy and nice looking children were reading a news paper to an administrator. The children were most likely from some of the wealthy homes whose parents might know the administrator personally - not the "unclean", and "unattractive" children from poor homes who, one teacher participant believed were like animals. But the administrator was not ready to think along those lines, saying that children only feared to go to her office when they had done something wrong. According to her, children who went to school wearing non-uniform sweaters looked like "villagers," a word used derogatively to describe someone who is not civilized and backward. Although some pupils testified that they feared to visit the office, the principal maintained that the doors were wide open to pupils as evidenced by the two privileged children who were in her company at the time the school was visited. What is true is that offices of principals were and still are associated with "trouble," and indeed, when students are in the wrong, that is when they are summoned to be reprimanded.

In Muduma Secondary School, a teacher pointed out that when it was time for sending school fees defaulters, not all the defaulters faced the penalty of being sent home and missing classes. Some of the parents had connections with the administration and the administration would give written notes to grant such children permission to return to class and study. However, the very poor students were not creditworthy and would be sent home [Field notes; August 10, 1995]. This was also reported by a disappointed administrator, Zinunura, in an elitist school where rich parents were in the habit of sending their children with no school fees except suitcases full of cookies and sugar.

Such injustice is not only limited to school fees payment but also happens in admissions. For instance, one teacher in a focus group pointed out that:

> *In my view, ... the school curriculum involves the leadership of the school, the administrative set up. So the school curriculum in my view has a contribution to this imbalance. Those who are at the top go looking for places or schools - in Buddo or Namilyango, Can't their children make it?*[TR; August 4, 1995].

In other words, the way the curriculum operates, schools can be part of a sub-system of the wider society and function as a breeding ground for inequalities, corruption and nepotism. Stressing the economic factor, another teacher also hinted at the issue of nepotism and corruption when he said that:

> *They have the power, not only the means, that is, the money bit of it, but they also have the weight - the social, political weight. So, a child can have say 15 aggregate in PLE, you can still find that child although the cut off aggregate for this school can be around eight and this same child can come here when the cut off aggregate is 8. How does the child make it here - because of the political weight* [TR; August 4, 1995].

This is not generalizable to all students who are in those schools. Some of these students make it to these schools, albeit wealthy backgrounds facilitate a smooth entry compared to those from poor backgrounds. However, it gives insight into one aspect of injustice supported by structures that sustain and reproduce inequalities in institutions preparing citizens for society. As one teacher, Iremera, narrated,

> *... the problem we have in our developing countries is that democracy people talk of is only in theory and it is usually right from the top. Because for example suppose one is a headmaster and he is the person supposed to show justice to the people he is working with - the teachers, students, workers, parents and now he is undermining it. For example, supposing he is admitting S.I or S.IV students. Instead of admitting some students with good marks, he ignores that one and admits one he is related to* [TR; August 9, 1995].

According to Bandura, when teachers are dealing with the students, they rarely care about the students backgrounds:

> *Only a few teachers. One teacher came and told me that this boy doesn't talk in class. Even the arm is so thin, he is so thin. When she asked him he told her that he doesn't eat. He just comes. He is in S.2 now, very weak. We wrote to call the parent. I don't think the father will come. In most cases it is the step father. Very thin. ... We used to have charity fund when Mr. Beebwa was here. When he left it ceased to be functional. Every child paid. It was catering for such a child* [HM; July 28, 1995].

Bandura held the belief that most teachers were insensitive to the plight of the students. Though teachers are not in a position to help students materially, the kind of interaction they have with the poor students in class is patronizing. At times a students is labeled as a problem student when, in actuality such a student's problems require understanding on the part of the teacher, standing by such a student so that s/he finds someone with compassion to lean on. In referring to teachers, the same administrator maintained that in teacher training programs, issues of inequality and poverty were brought to their attention:

> *They are insensitive. ... Yes in psychology it was brought. The development of the child, the surroundings and their effects. But I think it depends also on the individual having that compassion for the suffering, not to expect that the training makes one develop that compassion he /she does not have* [HM; July 28, 1995].

The poor students were more prone to getting into trouble at school. Teachers rarely had empathy when dealing with these students. Although the administrator was of the view that compassion depended on one's natural human tendencies, depending on the paradigmatic orientation of the teacher education program one is exposed to, there is the likelihood for it potentially to complement and enhance or change ones beliefs, attitudes and values - for better or worse. The view that teacher education preparation cannot produce compassionate teachers who struggle for individual and collective justice tallies with the earlier view advanced by teacher respondents that a good teacher was naturally good, not made so by college preparation. Do the programs student teachers are exposed to generate understanding of students' experiential, psychological, and cultural backgrounds and illustrate how the prior experiences and developmental levels of the students influence their learning outcomes? Most of the materials in textbooks used in teacher education programs, in poor South countries like Uganda, contain information based on psychological development of children in North America or European societies. Much as these training materials may provide some insights, the underlying cultural orientation is not universal (Bacchus, 1996). Students of Standard High School have tried to protest and fight non-violently teachers' insensitivity to their "problems like preparing the younger sisters and brothers who they stay with," as the cartoons in (Appendix C-4) illustratively summarize.

In a similar way, students of St. Peter's Nsambya wrote in the New Vision (1995) attacking the deputy headmaster that he

> ... is very arrogant. on many occasions he ...humiliated students ...telling them that they were wearing sub-standard shoes, then stops them from wearing the shoes again. We would like Ssenyondo to know that most of us are students from humble poor backgrounds....He should spare our parents and guardians. Some of them have not yet paid school fees, and cannot afford the "decent" shoes he wants us to wear (Vision,30/10/ 1995: 5).

There were more practices which run counter to the democratic principles professed by the teachers. A sad Bandura, an administrator in one of the schools, intimated that:

> *In our society here we have a tendency of feeling that I am in class from 8:00 to 9:00. I know my time I just go there and even leave before the time. Some go even when the first half of the period is over and the next half is to give notes. So he doesn't know what is happening in the class. Or when you go to class and ask "Do you have complaints?" ... there is one case where a teacher goes and starts dictating at his students, "Get your books, take notes". She doesn't say it is a paragraph, she doesn't say anything - just reads too fast, somebody has not followed and he is stuck. "Now, why aren't you taking notes? Get out, don't attend my lessons for the next two weeks, because you are not doing anything." Because the student got lost somewhere, he can't catch up, he will never catch up. But he is told he*

> *is rude and he is not taking notes, he is told to get out. And she walks out when she has finished. When it is a single period, she goes after 15 minutes, she has finished. She has gone out, they have not followed, they even don't know what she is teaching. She has not explained. There is no relationship. So when I approached her, she said, "those boys are bad, they are biased, they hate me"* [HM; July 28, 1995].

In this teacher's classroom, control dominated her method of work. Inservice programs, which have remained a limited and marginalized component in current teacher development becomes crucial here as this administrator noted:

> *If we had workshops and then teachers were taught just ... as a reminder that don't treat students as something subordinate, something you can kick without understanding his problem ... because when we went for selection that is what they told us. That even a headmaster is not supposed to kick a teacher like that - get out, go back to the ministry and that's done* [HM; July 28, 1995].

In another observation, I witnessed a situation where school children were sent home when the minister of education was visiting one school simply because they were not in uniform. These were not students who had refused to dress in uniform but who genuinely did not have a uniform. The minister praised the students for looking healthy and clean which was no surprise given the fact that those who were not looking healthy and unclean had been sent away so that the minister did not see them. In other words, the poor students were viewed as an embarrassment to the schools that had to be hidden from the important visitor. In denying the poor students the opportunity to participate in the minister's visit, the minister was denied part of the important data about the reality of the school and the community. As earlier noted, Amin did exactly the same thing to the destitute who were residents in Kampala city in 1975 when he was chairman of the OAU summit. The city was swept clean of its beggars and their likes, as if they were not part of the reality that was considered presentable. Similarly, when the World Bank met in Thailand, the poor were swept out of the streets because they were a source of embarrassment to the emerging NIC. These are very important images which create lasting impressions that produce and reproduce injustice in subtle ways in the school setting.

5.3. Pedagogical orientations

In this section, the theme of pedagogical orientations of teacher participants was explored. Through narratives, views and experiences, teachers shared how they resorted to using certain strategies and approaches instead of others. In doing so, teachers identified themselves with particular methods as the following data revealed.

5.3.1. Teachers as custodians of knowledge

Teachers operating in different realities were asked to share their experiences on their teaching approaches. I have coined the term custodian of knowledge to designate the guardianship role a teacher plays in the domain of knowledge distribution in the learning environment. For instance, Balita viewed his colleagues and himself as

> *... preparing people who can pass and go to another stage which you only have to show by how you passed. The task is ... finish a stage, pass it highly get a paper, certificates, go to another stage pass it so that in the end you are found ready. So the academic the curriculum itself is in stages. ...so that you finish and qualify say as a doctor and you go to the world. Here we are not training someone to be independent, we are training someone to be dependent, pass exams - that is the only thing* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Time which determined the pace of teaching the examination-driven curriculum reduced a teacher into a custodian. Bekunda's reasons why the top-down technocratic pedagogical approach enjoyed a privileged position among teachers compared to the participatory/dialogical one:

> *Partly true ... But there are again things you find in the field which have nothing to do with what you could have covered. Let us say when it comes to - normally when they are teaching us - let me go to the classroom, they emphasize that we really make pupils participate. That we avoid this what they used to call chalk and talk method or lecture method. But then when you come to reality say in the classroom, surely that is not very possible for a number of reasons; [1] they over - estimate the ability of our students. Our students are not really very good to participate actively, if you use that method it is so very slow, you may not cover much, and it even expects you to have these pedagogical facilities in place: enough textbooks, enough maps, enough library facilities, enough laboratory facilities which are not there. So in the learning - teaching environment in such schools, especially these developing schools where I am a teacher you find you are the text book, you are the library, you are everything [laughter]. So how do you desist from using the talk and chalk method. So the students you have even when you are giving them some assignment you don't expect them to get any assistance from home. Because this a rural setting. I am just speaking from my own setting. And I am not speaking for any other person but myself. So when you are normally there, they teach you the ideal but which is really difficult to marry with what is in practice here* [TR; August 9, 1995].

According to Bekunda, a teacher's role was that of a mobile encyclopedia for the student who had no any other source of knowledge to learn from other than the teacher. The classes I was able to visit were characterized by a teacher who presented the materials, asked questions, and provided a feedback to students about the correctness of their responses. The pedagogical thrust tended to be centered on the subject matter, correct recall of content taught by means of highly structured drills and workbook exercises.

Bekunda went on to explain that:

> *You see the lecture method saves time and even allows the teacher to detail information which these students wouldn't have got on their own. Because I have already told you that we are ill equipped in almost everything - textbooks are not there, we don't have radio facilities, TV facilities, we don't have newspapers. We only get one copy. Monitor, we have never seen, and many other sources of information surely are not there - the encyclopedia, the manuals, these journals are not there. But yet they say, you go and give the guidelines and let them find out themselves. So I don't know whether that is justice - academic justice, but I would say it is injustice* [TR; August 9, 1995].

According to Bwengye,

> *... there is a jug and mug method whereby you assume that there is nothing in the head of a student - that is a tabular rasa, you just pour in. I think when I go to our field mostly these sciences we mainly tend to pour because you find the student has no idea at all about Chemistry so you ask "How can we prepare oxygen?" They look at you. So you tend to say, "Now we prepare oxygen by bringing chemical A plus B"* [TR; August 5, 1995].

The example cited by Bwengye, introducing the concept of oxygen to students, is interesting and therefore merits further reflection. The concept could be available in the indigenous knowledge setting, but the pedagogical strategies of the jug and mug metaphor could make it problematic for students to contextualize it. His assumption implied that there was nothing in the heads of the students as far as the concept of oxygen was concerned. The imported textbook prescribed the preparation of oxygen technically, ruling out the native or indigenous experience that relevantly applied to oxygen. In doing so, the concept remains a transplant from far away laboratories without using the students' everyday reality the most practical laboratory. The question - "How can we prepare oxygen?" - throws the class into disarray because it is not part of the "cultural capital" students trade with in their everyday transactions It is not accurate to say that students come to class without any knowledge like a tabula rasa. The point could be made that the largest part of the students knowledge was delegitimized and was not accepted in the school curriculum - a curriculum that is not adequately informed by the needs and expectations of the environment where the school is rooted. For instance, if students who have seen the experiments on their TVs at home in their upbringing and other students have not had such an opportunity, when these groups of students are exposed to the same curriculum and subject concepts, as the case is, it may require different approaches to teach each group. Such approaches may call for a teacher's resourcefulness and ingenuity to go beyond what was provided by his or her training, the prescribed curriculum and the (dis)abling teacher's guides (Kozol, 1993). These factors do not liberate the teacher's resourcefulness, imagination and creativity but domesticate him or her. When relying on the teacher's guide, someone is remotely controlling the teacher, crippling his/her initiative and creativity by thinking on his/her behalf. It becomes worse when a generation of Bwengye's students later on memorize such concepts and train as teachers to teach the same chemistry to another generation of students in the way Bwegye, their former teacher, used to teach them. This time, they would be wielding Bwengye's notes which they copied when he sent them to class for one of the students to write on the blackboard while he was away. This is not to discount that Bwengye might be an authority on the content knowledge of his teaching subject. But although he might be possess adequate knowledge content of his discipline of chemistry, this is not sufficient for effective teaching. He needed to have pedagogical content knowledge that would have prepared him to understand and explain more effectively to his students the major concepts in chemistry. This would enable him to move beyond passing on procedural knowledge for passing examinations, which simply enables students to cram/accumulate factual information.

As a custodian of information, Dajo resorted to the teacher-centered approach after failing to go very far with more dialogical/participatory teaching methods:

> *When you try all the tactics of teaching to involve the students in the lesson, you will find that you are just not making any step and you will just get problems. So I realized that I was facing a problem and accepted that I was defeated as a teacher. And yet I was confident I knew how to teach. Later on ... I resorted to these lecture methods - I would come with notes, read to them and get out. Or I would say get your books and I would write so many things on the blackboard and say copy these notes and I go. So there, that is not teaching ... those will be future what - citizens* [TR; November 11, 1995].

In his teaching, Dajo did not allow dynamics of genuine dialogue to build in the classroom. Instead of facilitating, he mechanically controlled student learning by discouraging student/student talk in a collaborative learning context. Such a lecture model does not promote the development of higher level cognitive skills or empower students by encouraging them to assume greater independence and control over setting their own learning goals and to collaborating actively with each other in achieving these goals (Cummis, 1988).

In a focus group, Obadia took the liberty to comment on his colleague, Mukisa:

> *... what science he teaches, what physics he teaches does not address itself to one specific problem of the nation. He is teaching general science. He does not even take interest in the abilities of the learners. He is teaching waves to people whose abilities stopped with maybe how to make a torch. So we are not specializing. We are giving indiscriminate education. That is being wasteful* [TR; August 5, 1995].

The point here was that Mukisa's teaching was subject-centered rather than student-centered without any regard for the abilities of the students. As Obedi, a policy maker commented,

> *This democratic way of teaching as opposed to, dictatorial teacher centered, ... is very good. But ... it must be seen in its context. In America or UK, a teacher will teach a class of 20 or 15 children all of them with books There will be more books than children in fact. Here a teacher teachers a class of more than a 120. The pupil-book ratio here is 7:1. Seven children share one book - and tattered also. And that is a very good school incidentally. If a school manages to have one book between seven children, it is a good school. You cannot be pupil-centered if you want to deliver anything. It is not because people don't appreciate or don't know the value of this democratic method or approach. But it is because circumstances dictate that practically you cannot use it. You cannot teach a class of 120 ... a teacher standing at the back to see a few children nearest her cannot even thread her way to go to the front because they are so packed. You cannot use group work there; you cannot use individual work there; I mean the situation is such that, you know, this democratic way however good, and we appreciate it and we hope that, and we are striving to have it but practically, it is difficult. ... survival of the fittest, people say, because when the examination is set, it is set for all children irrespective of the conditions they studied under*[PM; 1995].

Mpurikize also collaborated Obedi's view of over-crowding classrooms:

> *... students will pass because of individual differences ... But also our system in part does not allow a number of things to take place in the actual classroom situation. For example, for many years our classrooms have been overcrowded. So the teacher finds himself in a situation where he can not give assistance to certain categories of students much as he would have wanted to. So those who tend to lag behind eventually feel themselves ignored but this is not the teacher's fault* [TR; September 9, 1995].

Teaching was oriented to demands of the diploma syndrome prevailing in Uganda. In this situation, correct recall of isolated subject content was given paramount importance. The interest in passing, or what I would like to call the grade syndrome, made the majority of teachers give up teaching students how to learn. Commenting on the influence of examinations on teaching approaches, Obedi narrated that

> *The other day I visited what I would call a good school in the East. It is a good school because it was a demonstration school, attached to a teacher training college. Children were writing from the floor. They were sitting on the floor and they were writing from their laps. Nakaseero or your Buganda road, children sit somewhere. Those children who write from their laps and the children who have desks in Nakasero sit for the same exam. And when they are judged, they are judged irrespective of the situation under which they studied. It is a question of how many of them have got a 4, that is the best grade one. Your computer says just 4, Gayaza 4, they will take only 4 whereas in the olden days, admission to S.1 took into consideration even teachers recommendations. One would say, all right, this young man has not got a 4 but the fact that he comes from Bukandula Primary School where children sit on the floor to work and has got a 7, potentially he is better than that Buddo boy who has got a 4. But this is not the case. And this is not curriculum mind you* [PM; 1995].

Okurapa shared in his narrative that he was always fighting with time to finish his prepared work:

> *The students I consider to be good because whenever I meet them, they are so inquisitive. When you try to maybe bring a certain topic, they even go on asking you very many things even going further outside the topic. So at times, I control them and say "Let us first of all finish this, then we will come later". Because they ask too many questions and at times we may not be able to finish our work. But they are so inquisitive and you meet them outside they are free to talk with you, you can chat with them they can even tell you about their personal life. The reason is that time is fighting because it is programmed, I am also fighting to finish the thing so if you allow the day to be for questions, we may not finish* [TR; July 20, 1995].

The approach Okurapa employed demanded passivity and docility of his learners. His tendency to retain exclusive control over classroom interaction as opposed to sharing some of the control with his students partly reflect the work situation that pressurized him to produce results at any cost. This is typical of the transmission model which incorporates essentially the same assumptions about teaching and learning that Freire (1970,1973) has termed a "banking" model of education. What is interesting about Okurapa's dilemma management strategies is that as much as he said that he was interested in inquisitive students, he suppresses that curiosity instead of nurturing it because of his commitment to finish the lesson according to his stated conclusion. He is lesson centered, engaging in teaching a lesson rather than teaching his students. What I experienced when I was a student was similar to what Okurapa explained. Teachers would tell us to "keep the questions for the next lesson", or "we shall cover that in the next topic", or "remind me when we are studying chapter ten." We never had time to revisit such "ignored" or "excluded" knowledge. It seemed such knowledge fell outside the prescribed knowledge sanctioned for presentation to us.

Some teachers in a focus group interview were asked the extent to which students participated in their learning and Bwengye said that basically:

> *It is dictatorial. We are victims of the same system because we the teachers also have been victims, we have gone through the same system. We have no say or choice. So when we become teachers, we have to do the same to the students. This question of the students having a choice to what they are going to study is out* [TR; August 5, 1995].

However, the view that a teacher has no say or choice in the education enterprise brings in the notion that the teacher is sort of a tool as suggested by "the conduit metaphor" (Ross, 1994) in a processing factory, producing products for the market for consumption. The graduates of the school system in which a teacher considers himself or herself as an instrument, are prepared for the future as a work-force that would meet the prescriptions of the labor market in terms of discipline, obedience, punctuality and the like.

Obadia thought that else where,

> *... at S.3 level, if there was no rigidity, you know, saying that these are the books I must teach you, even within the list I should be asking them the books that appeal to them most. ... The system doesn't allow that. The school says we can't afford this, or we have already many copies of this. Also the students are ignorant, they don't know what would be appealing to them. And sometimes we teach these subjects without the students knowing the aims - why am I studying this subject?* [TR; August 5, 1995].

This view - that the students are ignorant and that they do not know what would be appealing to them - lacks any evidence since students have never been given the latitude to make a choice. The view therefore is a preconceived idea that a choice for students must always be made or else they would make wrong choices. It was questionable as to what extent the teacher's or administrator's or even the ministry's choice is not actually the wrong choice if one questioned the results of most of the choices that have been made for students so far. Assuming that the teachers choice or whoever, was the wrong choice, what happens in the end in terms of the future of the students? This is supportive of the top-down, expert technocrat paradigm where people are acted upon rather than actively participating in their learning. The teacher should "always teach to facilitate" the learning process without abdicating his responsibility and the authority that goes with his/her role as teacher (Freire and Macedo, 1995). It also reflects the assumptions prevalent in the wider Ugandan society that the masses are "ignorant" of their needs and therefore someone other than themselves has to intervene, identify their needs and deliver them from the situation. That, in that way, a teacher will be "helping" such people. Nevertheless, a vanguard/expert approach to conscientization would still cause a difference depending on the values, beliefs and attitudes of his or her orientations.

In the classes that were visited and observed, the teachers asked for factual information through sentence completion exercises with pupils individually or in chorus simply adding the missing word. In Political Education, students were expected to say that the state created employment. Rarely were they asked to explain how the state created employment or the interrelation of two events. If the answer given by the student was not in the actual wording the teacher expected, it would be ignored. If the right answer was provided the teacher would move on. If not, the teacher rarely probed further in order to identify which elements of the lesson the pupil did not understand. What I also observed in Kobutesi's class was that when the students did not know the factual item, they often put forward random responses or would repeat or affirm the answer already given by their colleagues. She also placed a premium on "elite language" by emphasizing the correct technical terms (in English) and their proper pronunciation and spelling. The examples from books meant for schools in temperate countries were used unsparingly whereby a teacher of geography would lift notes from such a texbooks used in North American schools without any modification in obvious situations. For instance, terms like winter and summer when teaching about humidity were consistently used instead of substituting them with alternative terms relevant to the students' known world, e.g., wet and dry respectively [Field Notes; July 10, 1995].

The view from Ninsiima, a literature teacher was that:

> *I took literature and we were taught that we are all learners, we are all teachers. There is no student, there is no teacher. Not until you allow yourself to be a student and allow the student to be a teacher, you will fail to discover. As much as we teach, you must admit that each time you go to class to teach, you learn something. And unless you are ready to receive and give, a teaching system should be giving and receiving. If you are only giving, then you will feel too big. Yah, I always give - you feel cheated. But the moment these kids give back to you, then the learning atmosphere is unified, it is wholesome, teaching becomes interesting* [TR; July 13, 1995].

This was a dissenting view that deviated from the "banking" model which many participants echoed. Such a renders itself to what Freire (1970) calls education for liberation where there is no complete knowledge possessed by the educator, but rather a knowable object which mediates educator and educatee as subjects in the knowing process. The views expressed by Ninsiima implied that her teaching-learning socialization was more dialogical. However, this should not be construed to imply that all literature teaching that is going on in Uganda is dialogical. From my experience, her view cannot be generalized to all teachers and to all classrooms of literature.

5.3.2. Collaboration in teaching and departmentalization

Participants were also asked if they found it easy to seek assistance from their colleagues. The aim was to establish the extent to which teachers collaborated and to establish whether these teachers found it disempowering to call on a colleague to help where one needed help. Kobutesi narrated that

> *... some teachers are proud and keep in their cocoon. Some teachers do not want to admit that they do not know. For me, from my experience, I came here as a fresher in the field. I got so close to the ladies who were teaching geography and old men. So they taught me to teach O' level, S 1 , S2, S3, S4, incorporated me after one year - less than one year to teach HSC. So they trained me on the job and I was willing to learn. So all the power I have is right away from the fellow teachers who taught me. Otherwise, I wouldn't have done a good job for the school. This was after leaving university* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Twiine who taught economics said:

> *I came here and started teaching economics immediately. There was no one to interact with. But eventually, more teachers came, and we have been sharing knowledge and ideas; we have been consulting each other in the department* [TR; July 13, 1995].

From views of teacher participants in one focus group, teacher collaboration, for instance, team teaching was not encouraged:

> Qn: *Do you ever feel that a colleague is more knowledgeable about a topic than you?*
> Group: *Yes. Yes. Yes. Yah. yah*
> Qn: *Can you allow him or her to teach such a topic for you in your class?*
> Group: *No* [TR; July 20, 1995].

One of the teacher participants, Ninsiima, offered the following explanation:

> *Maybe we are interfering with administration because the situation is that you have got to attend to your classes. ... Should you dodge it, then some money is going to be what-deducted. So you feel ... like wanting to teach your class, there is that obligation-I must be there or my money might end up being deducted. But of late ... we just sat down members of the English department with another teacher. We had an afternoon and it was a bit hazy*

> *- all of us we were a bit tired, and we thought maybe the students would be drowsy. We got a Maths teacher who also had an S-4 class in the afternoon. We decided to have topics - write about this, you know come in front of the class, the whole group and start talking about these topics. We called the students under a tree , one of us would write any topic and drop it in a box-Math and English. The students came together- they didn't want the lesson to end, and we got a lot of information out of them. So it was out of what-merging- coming together. Because the thing which we are molding I am not going to say this is the English part and this is the Physics part and it is all merging together, otherwise I think when I had just come to this school we were still very rigid* [TR; July 13, 1995].

The rigid timetable was a hindrance to further teacher collaboration. Collaborative teaching was also undermined by the nature of compartmentalization/departmentalization of subjects. The monetary stringency further undermined integration because each teacher must account for his/her teaching by appearing in her/his designated classroom at a particular time as per the general time table. However, Ninsiima's view revealed some potential of acting as a transformative intellectual by challenging compartmentalization when English and Maths teachers merged their lessons. If she could be supported and facilitated through sharing experiences of a similar nature, she would try it again and again. Other teachers would probably follow suit. Compartmentalization remains the order of the day in the school setting in Ugandan schools. Teachers were of the view that General-paper[2] attempted to integrate subjects but it was grossly insufficient. Apia's view on integration was that:

> *It is not yet possible because the time table is so tight such that the teacher cannot surrender her time when she is supposed to be in class in order to teach another teacher's class. What interaction is there is only in the various departments. We only merge in general paper. Even this long interaction [meaning the focus group] has been possible because of the rain* [TR; July 13, 1995].

The time table was so tight that any interaction that occurred took place was only possible inside the various departments. This is part of the division of labor and specialization according to subjects which undermined teacher's identity in terms of group dynamics (Harris, 1982). Commenting on how teachers were compartmentalized in their various departments, another teacher, Rushanda, had this to say:

> *... No one knows what happens in another department. Like a Geography teacher I have nothing to do with Economics. I have nothing to do with it. Probably where I can go in is where it comes to marking because I do mark the same. There I can coordinate with them, though I do not teach it. But others who do not teach it don't see any use. It is not practical for them, it has nothing to yield for them for survival* [TR; August 3, 1995].

Echoing the same point of departmentalization, Ninsiima's view was that:

> *When there are seminars, some questions may require to merge in information. Time remains a problem. There is no time for teachers to interact and integrate- the time table is rigid and the lessons are many. We are actually programmed - when the timetable is there and you are supposed to go for English third and fourth period, you must and only go for English you shouldn't be languishing with the Literature gentlemen . Yet, whereas if I liaison with the Literature gentleman he could go in and introduce something and maybe I go in his Literature class or we merge the classes together. maybe in English class I was trying to introduce poetry, the aspects of what - poetry. And that is relevant to the Literature group but we can't merge the two groups together because he will have his own time for the Literature and I will also have my time for English. If I miss my time, I shall be - my money shall be deducted or I shall be recorded as somebody who has not taught.* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Collaborative teaching was not prominent among teacher participants. The timetable dictated that teachers had to operate in a compartmentalized manner.

5.3.3. Dilemmas in teaching

Societal demands for teacher accountability and professionalization add to the complexity of the teaching profession. Teachers narrated experiences in which they found themselves at crossroads, suffering indecision on how to proceed. According to her personal reflection on her teaching, Ninsiima felt this way:

> *Maybe I am quite different. My teaching depends on moods. ... I can wake up one morning and don't feel like showing any of my tooth out. And I will go to class, I would deliver my message and you will not see me smiling at all. Some times, I will wake up and feel I have to be very funny today. ... I would start by miming- they look at me, they laugh, they do what - I can even jump, but at the end of it all ... I introduce what I want to give to them. And finally you cool down, we go to a more serious note, and conclude it with laughter. I have failed to teach according to the set rules. My moods control my teaching. I must feel myself. If I feel for example, something itches me here [touches herself] I don't see why I shouldn't scratch myself. ... Me, I feel if one has really to teach, one has to be natural* [TR; July 13, 1995].

For Ninsiima, teaching according to rules was unnatural and demoralizing. Her defiance to follow the rules is indicative of her potential for undertaking the tasks and responsibilities of a critical paradigm of teaching. In her effort to naturalize teaching, she endeavors to create spaces for herself and her students to interact in a more democratic participatory environment which does not mechanize and mythologize the role of a teacher. She would not pretend to be happy when she was not. For the students to see her unhappy is part of reality that one cannot seperate from a real life situation. However, the approach poses a dilemma when other factors in reality are put into consideration. For instance, the intention of the mood need not be taken for granted. Should the teacher's mood take priority in shaping teacher-student relationship? What if such a teacher's mood was permanently "bad"? This puts in question the professional and moral responsibility and the accountability of a teacher. Finally, how would the students' moods be accommodated?

From sharing I also shared my experience in order to encourage participants to come out of their shells:

> *... this reminds me of what happened to me in class one time ... A student asked me a question and I confessed that I didn't know the answer. Students looked at each other and laughed ...So, I told the class that let us all search for the answer as our homework so that tomorrow, we share our findings. I don't know whether any one of you has experienced a similar situation* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Then Apia observed, "*I don't know whether it is professional to confess before students that you don't know the answer.*" The rest of the focus group responded with, "*Yes, What do you do, tell us*"; "*It is healthy*"; "*Do you know everything?*"; "*If I don't know, I tell them I don't know, even tutors, when they are training us they tell us to be honest with students when we don't know*"; "*What if one of them knows the answer there and then*"; Apia maintained, "*The best I can do is to tell them to find out.*" for their homework. Other teachers insisted, "*It would be failure to admit that one does not know*" everything. Kobutesi probed Apia thus:

> *...what if it is a new term a student has come across in a book you will not have access to. Let me tell you, ... students who were going to sit exams asked us - me and Mr. Rushanda, "What are peri-glacial features?" My teachers never taught me peri-glacial features. At the university I never met it anywhere. My teaching all this time, I was avoiding it. So I told them please, I don't know-can you go and find out and tell me. So they laughed. They said, "But madam, you know a lot, why don't you know this thing?" Until I had to sit and read about it* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Okurapa also shared his experience and said that:

> *There are times when I don't know. Okay, I will try to find maybe someone who has an idea. But if there is not anyone who knows the idea, then I will tell them that I don't know and probably I will come with the answer tomorrow. As society is developing, these students get more information from the media, educated parents, TV. So when they come to ask you, you might not have got the information. So you may try to ask them or to find out late* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Kobutesi shared her dilemma that in class when students responded to her questions they would repeat the same answer throughout:

> *I want to ask her suppose you ask a question someone gives answer then you choose another one to give his version, he will tell you "Like that one", then another one says, "the same", like the other time [referring to the time I sat in one of her classes] "The same", what is the same you are telling me? Can't you add on? They are not innovative. So, it means that the brain is sleeping. [I asked her why] Why, maybe he is thinking of other things ahead; maybe the things he left at home. He is not attentive, you ask him, contribute what are the factors affecting climate? That one, "latitude", that one comes in and tells you "weather". That shows you that the student is absent minded and that is a dull student that day. So you ask him, "please can you contribute?" - "the same", "like that one". Who is that one, what is the same? What would you do?* [TR; July 13, 1995].

The view that asking questions is automatically involving students' participation is a belief explicitly and implicitly held by teachers. But from what the teacher said, students found it discomforting to be asked questions because of the spoon-feeding background that was supportive to the examination-driven curriculum. This is also part of the reality of teaching; students are not always a captive audience. They rightly or wrongly exert some influence over how they are taught, particularly accepting methods that prepare them for the excessively competitive examinations. Hence, Muhenda expressed her dilemma thus:

> *But you may be a good teacher, depending on a school because some schools they expect you to give tests, ... but some schools expect you to give notes, comprehensive notes, such things. So if you change from another school and go to another school with a different system, you may be unpopular if you don't know how they do it. So if you come with your questioning techniques, ... and you ask, the students will all look at you like this [she stares you in the face] because they are waiting for notes. It depends on the school. ... I have taught in about 3 schools or maybe 4. But the first school where I taught, you can go to class all they wanted was you talked to them a lot, you discuss and give them questions. They didn't mind if you didn't give them formal notes. ... But if you come to Standard High School and you do that, I think you'll be unpopular because for them they want comprehensive notes, even if you told them I'll not be around, "Excuse, can you leave us with some notes?" For them they really appreciate notes, they want notes. ... but that is also what the administration say. So even when they say you are unpopular, they will compare notes. They will not mind how you teach. ... if you don't give notes, I think you will be branded a bad teacher* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Muhenda's approach is flexible and negotiable depending on the school where she happens to be teaching. She therefore implied that she adapted to the demands of the realities of a given school setting, examination pressure, curriculum, and students' expectations that are determined by excessive competition (Dias, 1989). This renders itself to the instrumentalist view of a teacher as a conduit (Ross, 1994). The teaching environment and the culture of the school in which a teacher found her/himself working influenced the instructional strategies s/he would adopt. As Muhenda has testified, there has been a tendency, even for those teachers who are prepared to employ more effective instructional strategies slanted to the transformative paradigm, of easily reverting to the traditional knowledge transmission approaches to teaching with their emphasis on rote learning, because of direct or indirect pressure from colleagues or school administration. The degree of relying on the traditional paradigm of teaching is conspicuous in poor nations like Uganda because of the almost complete absence of others oriented to the transformative paradigm of teaching that practice more innovative teaching strategies (Bacchus, 1996).

For Dajo, his experience in both public and private schools led him to seek refuge in the authoritarian/banking techniques of teaching:

> *I was teaching in a private school. The owner of this school would admit anybody - S.I, II, III, VI, or even one who has never been to school at all. Because it is business. Now when it comes to the class, such a character is an imbecile and academically lazy. And because the parent has a lot of money, there are many of that type in front of you as a teacher. ... From there I just transferred to another school. This is a "Tenth World" secondary school, a government school where the headmaster has no pupils - enrollment is zero. The man said without pupils no money to run the school. So he also admits leftovers with 36 aggregates. Now you go to teach. It is the other problem I had faced. ... I am not saying that these human beings who are academically lame should be thrown somewhere to Sese Islands or be killed. We need them* [Workshop; November 11, 1995].

This sub-theme has explored various types of dilemmas teachers face in their different settings and how they approach them differently to resolve them. Dajo felt overwhelmed and thought that changing schools would solve the dilemma, when the move only compounded the problem. This reveals the urgent need for teachers to be given opportunities to share their experiences and seek ways of ameliorating those dilemmas which undermine teachers' contributions in preparing citizens imbued with values, attitudes, and beliefs that can lead to national development.

5.3.4. Meritocracy

Participants' views were sought in order to establish what they considered to be the pedagogical value of examinations in schools and Obadia explained thus:

> *So ... you have a code of conduct which must be confirmed with but even the content of education is so oriented to subservience, it promotes that docility, that passive mind. For instance at the end of 40 minutes you could do a quick check on whether what you have taught is imbibed. What are you testing, you are testing the content, the knowledge and that's what at the end of the course period the examination will test. The critical mind, the independence, those other qualities of an individual that should come out are not there. The resourcefulness of a child, the innovativeness is even not brought out. Say, how much has he or she provided of what I taught; has she/he produced that? So you can see that the whole thing goes to the content of the curriculum which has placed little focus on the individuals usefulness as it is needed to be* [TR; August 5, 1995].

According to Mpurikize,

> *... our system either produces people who fail or pass. Our system of education just produces those two. And those are labeled failures find their own way, they find their own level. There is no way we look at this group. And they are the majority* [TR; September 16, 1995].

Another participant, Ninsiima, responded as follows:

> *Basically, we teach students. Okay today, we teach students, our sole aim is to make sure they pass exams. That is of prior importance. Essentially, we are not supposed to teach just for the passing of exams. We are supposed to teach to make an all-round person. Somebody who will go into society and will fit in whichever society he is exposed to. But then this fitting into society has become so competitive. And with competition, exams have come about. So in order to prove that you can actually fit in society there is a prerequisite of passing exams. So they will gauge a teacher as being good from how many students he or she has made pass. So instead of molding him out into an all-round person, fitting in society, there is a mask, an apparent mask of making him pass the exams. So you become exam-oriented rather than individual development in society. You find yourself forced to* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Twiine, referring to examinations similarly, noted: "*that is the yardstick to measure what has been achieved through exams. So we are usually aiming at making students pass exams.*" When asked what the exams basically tested, Ninsiima referred to a bottle of coke and metaphorically and philosophically said, "*I may have the knowledge to make this bottle but have no ability to make it. The exams test the knowledge. They don't test the ability. Yet we should be having both the knowledge and the ability.*"

Indeed, as a consequence of the stiff competition in examinations, teachers' reflections as we interacted further revealed particularly what took place in the hidden curriculum. For instance Ruyonga shared:

> *I have seen a contradiction in schools. Now because of the stiff competition somebody addresses the students that well, we are now competing seriously. Gayaza is like this, Nabisunsa is like this, Kibuli is like this. So, what you do, those people don't give away their material. They hide their test papers. So from now onwards, I don't want you to give out your question papers. Don't share them with the other students from other schools because they will beat us. And then when that person comes back to class, he says but this number is supposed to be for discussion. Students in the class are supposed to discuss this number, then the girls don't discuss it. The students of S.5 cannot ask their fellow students in S.5, the S.5's cannot ask those in S.6. The same person who says don't give away your information is yet the same person now saying, "But why don't you share? You are in the same school, why don't you share?"* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Bwengye also interjected:

> *For example Nyakitabire SSS is supposed to be in our association but they cannot come to our meetings because they feel we shall benefit from their information ... they feel they know more* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Alatas (1990: 996) develops and elaborates this point of competition and individualism by relating it to education in an illustrative manner:

> Take education and the emphasis on meritocracy. This has to be saddled with a strong sense of morality to restrain the negative effects of the competition on which meritocracy is based. Competition can be corrosive of morality. The violations of morality taking place in the intensity of competition often are not criminal in nature but may conduce to it in the sense that human sentiments clustering around a particular moral value may be eroded, thereby making it easier for corruption to take place.
>
> Take a student who hides books from the library shelves so that others may not read them. Already this behavior corrodes sentiments of concern and goodwill for others. It emanates from the egoistic desire to compete using unsportsman-like means. When such an attitude prevails widely, it can easily slip over into corruption. The corrosion of morality in various areas has always the antecedent of corruption.

However, Obedi was of the view that Ugandans regarded meritocratic exams as more dependable than continuous assessment exams:

> *You see on the other side of the scale, people say, well unless you strictly keep to merit in form of grades, there would be a lot of corruption otherwise. Because, a teacher in Bukandula will say, such and such a candidate is very good. But you see because he was sitting on the floor, that is why he didn't score so much. You see the evaluation methods in this*

> *country have not come to that level where all teachers can evaluate objectively. Teachers cannot evaluate pupils objectively* [PM; 1995].

When I asked Obedi why he was of the conviction that teachers would not evaluate their pupils objectively, he replied:

> *There are many reasons. One, maybe, the teaching course has not offered that kind of skill, and it is a difficult skill. Secondly, because of the idea of the survival of the fittest; a good school is judged by grades and therefore because every headmaster would like his school to be good, well many Headmasters if they were left to say how good their children were, they wouldn't perhaps tell the truth. They would say that these children are good but perhaps they sit on the floor and that is why they are not producing abcd, and so on. Fortunately I think this weakness is being addressed ...by UNEB. It is starting soon what is called ... national continuous assessment. And it has been agreed that the results of the national assessment which will be done from year to year, from term to term will count up to 40% at the final grading. And I think this is a step forward* [PM; November 6, 1995].

Nevertheless, in a conference on Education for All, a former vice chancellor of Makerere University and Chair of the Education Policy Review Commission that led to the Government White Paper, Professor Senteza Kajubi observed that the pessimism that surrounded the idea of continuous assessment was not grounded in empirical research:

> *One thing that worries me about our education system as a whole is that it is not research based. We go by impression. For example in the olden days we used to have grade two teachers, people left P.7 went to a teacher training college and trained as teachers and people praise them as being very good. Then we went and said ... somebody must leave O'level in order to go to a two year primary system. That one we haven't evaluated it and now it seems we are taking even A'Level. We used to have teachers at Kyambogo, Grade V and people say those teachers were much better than teachers we trained at Makerere post graduates and so on. But there has never been any studies for that, I don't know. Now Dr. Cele makes a statement "As long as the PLE is used for critical selection decision in Secondary schools, somebody somewhere is going to corrupt the continuous assessment mark." Now, is this based on empirical data or fear? Because even UNEB exams are also sometimes corrupted. Now is that a reason to leave the UNEB exams because they are corrupted?* [National Forum on Education for All, Nov., 1995].

Continuous assessment, according to Kajubi, was not a new concept that lacked practical success in the past educational history of Uganda:

> *At Makerere in the school of education, we had an experiment based on the assessment of their teachers. ... why don't we admit students in College school in January ... based on the assessment of their teachers? ...this experiment went on and we found that teachers began to be very accurate. ... It was stopped not because someone corrupted it ... when you make*

> *statements like this they must be based on experiments you have observed. Lastly, if we can not trust a teacher to say that for my pupils, this one is good this one is poor what else can we entrust a teacher to do? If teachers can not teach values to students, can they teach?* [National Forum on Education for All, Nov., 1995].

Kajubi used a humorous but instructive example to make his point regarding values education as a necessary component for teacher education that would be fundamental for the success of continuous assessment:

> *... I was teaching at Buddo with the late Erisa Kironde. Every month he was sending back money to Cambridge and I asked him why are you sending money back to Cambridge? He said, "When I was there, I drunk wine on credit. [participants laughed]. Then I said, ...why do you have to send ...? Then he said "No at Cambridge a gentleman pays his debts. And if you don't learn that you are not a Cambridge graduate." So when are schools going to learn that? When are schools going to have values that, or even teacher training, that if you train at Ndejje you don't give children marks when they have not got them? Now we need to assist teachers as Dr. Cele says to have assessment tools so as to really know their students* [National Forum on Education for All, Nov., 1995].

According to Kajubi, selective meritocratic exams did not have the capacity to predict affective values such as a person's compassion, justice, honesty and trust. He shared a personal experience which was critical of grade-centered exams as follows:

> *One of my children left a particular primary school. When she had taken her Primary Leaving Examination the class teacher wrote on her report, "She has failed - full stop. The headmaster put, take her somewhere else. And indeed, I did[participants laughed]. But none cared to say, she is a polite girl, she is clean, she comes on time, she is reliable, and honest - all these things were not there. But she has failed. But I can say that child of mine has been the most successful child. ... Now I think if we are going to get quality education, we must use these examination tools as means of improving our education system and ...we put a lot of emphasis on this affective assessment so as to produce Ugandans who may not be very clever but who are able to take Uganda forward* [National Forum on Education for All, Nov., 1995].

The message herein was that the current meritocratic driven examination system that is used for evaluation may not be helpful identifying if the desired citizen is imbued with compassion and justice and will contribute to building a democratic and equitable society. As Goodlad (1968: 8) noted, "success in school, as measured by grades, appears to bear little relationship to anything else of importance - not to good citizenship, not to good work habits, not to happiness, not to compassion, not to any other significant value in the larger human sphere. Success in school predicts success in school, and grades predict grades - little else."

However, Obadia felt that what the teacher taught to his or her students was not devoid of values but that these values were not put into practice:

> *I think I would not bring the teacher squarely to blame. Because we may teach the right things but once our student goes into real life, he gets new challenges. Now the ideal you have taught in class stops at the gate of the school. Your doctor wants food, your doctor perhaps wants to drive like any elite in the country. He sees his position not as a national serving position but as self-serving position because he must protect his status*[TR; August 4, 1995].

According to Obadia, the problem was not with the teaching:

> *I think it is an element of capitalism. ... The elite is supposed to go into serving the government and creating that tribe of elites that is well protected by the government ... that has recruited him into its service. Now what is wrong actually is not the teaching, not the teachers role but planning ... not only that but the rewarding bit. Whom are you going to reward, and reward more? I think that is where the capitalist education system has gone wrong, including ours* [August 4, 1995].

Nonetheless, Bekunda contradicted Obadia's view when he said,

> *You see, for us, we are graduates of that system. ... our teaching is pegged more on examination passing than anything else. So for us we are really interested in finishing the syllabus as fast as possible so that even the element of spotting so that our students could pass - not how much in terms of skills we have equipped our students. We are not bothered even if those skills don't stick. But if they can pass - frankly that is our motive* [HM; August 9, 1995].

Teaching was pegged to the memorization of facts with the element of spotting potential examination questions. This approach fragmented the already compartmentalized subject contents the more and diminished the prospects of learning the subject matter in a holistic integrated matter. Indeed, when I entered Ndoona SSS, teachers told me about so many extra curricula activities that were going on almost at the same time that same day and other days along with their marking and grading student tests regularly to prepare students for excessive competitive examinations. This, they said, left no time for teachers to reflect on what they were teaching in a holistic manner. Basically, school activities and program control the teachers mechanically. Teachers are too preoccupied by the interests of the organization that is oriented to helping students pass competitive exams especially in elitist schools like Ndoona. That leaves little time, if any, for teachers to reflect, considering the constraints or limits imposed by organizational structures.

5.4. Participation in curriculum decisions

While interacting with teachers from one of the urban schools, comments and views were solicited in relation to the process of planning and implementing the curriculum. Particularly, views were gathered on how teachers felt they were involved in its formulation. Ziiwa was asked whether issues of the relevance of the curriculum were ever a subject of teachers' discussion. His response was:

> *Well we don't usually discuss things concerning the curriculum. ...it would have been very important if perhaps we had a general meeting of all teachers of a subject or different subjects in a forum where we can discuss such issues. But otherwise in the staff meetings we mainly concern ourselves with what takes place in the school, how we can improve the performance in the school, the co-curricular activities and so on and so forth. Otherwise we don't really get time to discuss these issues on the curriculum although sometimes mention is made on the reforms that have been put in the Kajubi report, the White Paper* [Teacher: Open-day; Standard High School, 1995].

During a focus group interaction Obadia, a literature teacher, observed that:

> *... our curriculum, syllabuses remain static for so long that they don't address themselves continuously to changing dynamics of society. For instance, we have had set books in literature which have been totally divorced from our cultural, political, and economic needs* [August 5, 1995].

Asked who sanctioned such books, his response was:

> *The NCDC, and the Ministry of Education. ... A teacher is only being brought of late into ... Otherwise when you talk to the technocrats in the NCDC and you talk to the people in the inspectorate, the Ministry of Education or you go down to Makerere School of Education ... there is a disparity in effort to make our teaching curriculum sensitive to our needs. That is why a school is a kind of an island where ever it is situated. I don't think the lives of the people surrounding this school are reflected and integrated in the learning institutions attended by these students. ... the behavioral experiences of the students will not be what is existent next door. I think on the ground our education policies, systems and whatever are not geared towards meeting the needs of society* [August 5, 1995].

The view held by teacher participants is that the curriculum is not adequately and progressively responding to the dynamic changes of society. To Obadia, therefore, an effective curriculum required continuous revision. Moreover, the curriculum was totally divorced from cultural, political, and economic needs. Although a small number of teachers was involved in curriculum planning, it remained very far away from being representative as Ruyonga pointed out:

> *They formulate things there. Some members of our staff are panel members there. But these panel members sit there but all they do I think they don't formulate the curriculum, I think they ... keep on amending a few things here and there. But these may take five to three years before they sit. You can see the UNEB thing. ... you have the same syllabus over and over for about five years even for the books, literature books when there are so many other books. ... they get bored with the books they ask ... for questions and exhaust them ... So those panels produce the materials and pass them on to the inspectorate...*[TR; November 12, 1995].

The participants felt that the way the panels were selected was not democratically representative considering the diversities of the country reflects in terms of regions, rural and urban, gender and other aspects. The tendency has been to select teachers regarded as good specialists who according to the structures in the system, were inevitably concentrated in the elitist schools where children of the affluent in society go for their education. It therefore becomes a curriculum that is heavily weighted in favor of the cultural capital of the children of the elites and against the children of the poor masses. The few teachers who were asked to participate in panels were from schools where Western culture was the legitimate and highly weighted cultural capital, popularized and distributed as the regime of truth.

In an interview with Bekunda, a school headteacher from one of the rural schools, popularly referred to as "Third World" schools, he aired similar views of the lack of participation in the curriculum planning process. When asked whether he had ever been asked to give input into the curriculum, as a grassroots representative engaged in the curriculum's implementation in schools like his, the response was:

> *There has been a lot of over-centralization. In fact the curriculum is not decentralized. So it is just central. So things are just born there, conceived there and then they just send us what is already finished. We have not really been giving a lot of feed back to them* [HM; August 9, 1995].

On the question of feed back , he noted that

> *At least for the few years I have been in the teaching service I have not seen that venue. Perhaps I am not informed but at least since I qualified in 1985 I have never been asked anything to do with how I think maybe something could be done to improve on what I am teaching* [HM; August 9, 1995].

I also inquired whether teachers themselves ever initiated a discussion on the curriculum, and he responded, "*No. But they have always criticized it although they have never had any initiative to say what can we do about it.*" Asked whether they had any minutes of such discussions on the curriculum, his reply was, "*When we are having a casual discussion we have always criticized it. But we have not taken trouble to minute it and* *even follow it up.* Matters concerning the curriculum tended to transpire only in a casual discussion. Since school time is dominated by the implementation of the curriculum, one would imagine that the curriculum would be a subject of discussion by teachers as part of their professional occupation - not something they raise questions about and make suggestions for on a casual or on part-time basis. This was a sign that reflected the very low participation on the part of teachers in the curriculum planning process.

However, the impression created by Obedi, a policy maker, indicated that there was wide participation in the inception of the curriculum at all levels:

> *...we listen to what people say in the press. They will say the system of education is failing us because children cannot write a correct sentence in English. We read in the newspapers.... People here are trained researchers who conduct scientific research. Our research and evaluation unit ... writes a questionnaire, and it picks up some people, say, teachers or parents and ask them a few questions about their expectations from the Ministry of Education, their disappointments, their feedback is brought here, it is analyzed and we can take action accordingly. ... But the other way is for us to look at the national aspirations since they are very well articulated in the Ten Point Program. We sit here in our subject panels ... and say, this is what the government expects, how ... can your subject contribute to the achievement of this national aspiration?* [PM; November 6, 1995].

Obedi further argued that "*Well, both urban and rural*" participated in identifying the needs of the curriculum. He went on to say, "*if it is a questionnaire ,it is for those who can read. But our researchers even hold interviews with these* [illiterate] *people.*" But Bekunda intimated that:

> *... we normally find a designed curriculum, they give us the material, the syllabus and teach according to what has been laid down for us and what will be examined. When it comes ... to implement something like that, you do not really feel responsible. ... For example, now they want to produce social studies, for you, you did Geography and History and Civics. When you studied them they were not integrated. Now they expect you to go in class and teach integrated things. You end up being substandard* [HM; August 9, 1995].

Twiine, a teacher from an urban school, also felt that curriculum planners were insensitive to classroom dynamics in terms of curriculum implementation:

> *And the problem they make is that these are people who are just sitting in offices. They don't know what goes on, on the ground, in the classrooms. So they make policies there which become impossible when it comes to implement them* [TR; July 27, 1995].

Asked whether the Ministry of Education and Sports organized refresher courses to orient teachers, Bekunda said, "*You know anything that involves money these people always* *avoid it. They always say - no money, no money*" [HM; August 9, 1995]. When it was brought to the attention of Obedi that teachers felt the curriculum was imposed on them from above without their participation, he explained thus:

> *Well it could be true, the complaint could well be genuine. But it is not because the machinery for involving the teachers is lacking but it is sometimes because of the resources. For instance ... each panel here is composed of an inspector of schools for that particular subject who is the chairman. It is composed of a specialist from here who is the secretary; it is composed of a teacher trainer from ITEK; it is composed of ... four practicing teachers - each panel. And it is also composed of two other prominent educators for that particular subject. ... The panel has four practicing teachers. ... We do not identify these teachers from Kampala. We do write to District Education Officers. ...Then they send us some people's names, and we are mindful that those teachers must represent urban and rural areas. So at its conception, my curriculum will have had the participation of the teachers. At least four of them. Now after I have developed my curriculum, we hold orientation courses for the District Officers and some teachers in each district. These teachers become trainers of trainers. Now where the process has gone wrong is that all these processes need money and some times you don't have the money. You may have the money for the panels but when it comes to the orientation courses where you would spread your curriculum to the districts, you may not have the money* [PM;November 6, 1995].

When probed what such orientation courses involve and how they normally went about conducting them, the response from Obedi was:

> *First of all you say, well these are the national aspirations, these are the educational objectives, these are our suggestions that curriculum can contribute, these are the ideas. The teachers will give you what they think. ... We are doing now population and family life education and right now my people are in the field interacting with these teachers and leaving these materials to them with the hope that, you know, and instruction in fact that they should study them and even go and practice them in the classroom and then let them give us their feedback. ... So the machinery to involve the teachers exists, the limitation normally are funds* [PM; November 6, 1995].

The NCDC relied on the popular Research and Development and Diffusion strategy that is commonly used for large scale reforms. It is basically top-down and scientific-experimental in approach. From the views expressed by Obedi, experts at the center explore strategies, research feasibility and set curricula aims and objectives. Under this model, they design materials and try them out on pilot schools. After feedback, revision, and field trials, new materials are disseminated to all schools. At the dissemination stage, orientation and training in the new curriculum appeared to be a missing and neglected component because of limited funds. It indicated that the majority of teachers were never invited to participate in the reform until the materials were finally disseminated. Dove (1986) has also noted in similar situations that:

> Teachers are relegated to the status of mere technicians, transmitting to pupils the content of materials which they had no part in developing and without regular means for providing feedback on their experience for revision purposes (p.53).

The teachers who have had opportunity to attend some of these orientation courses find them to be short crash courses where lectures on the innovations are given and a brief look is taken at some of the materials. They have little chance to practice any new skills or to access support and advice when attempting to use them in the classroom. This approach therefore reduces teachers into passive recipients of materials. It does not encourage or harness their initiative, resourcefulness, and experiences, in creating real changes in teaching and learning, and it does not provide local institutional support where teachers can gain skills and develop professionally (Dove, 1986).

Ziiwa expressed the following views on the curriculum formulation:

> *Even without the economic hardships, the curriculum needs remodeling I should say. And it should be shaped in such a way that it emphasizes national goals of this nation. The teacher should be one of the consultants. ... secondly, the Ministry of Education. Thirdly, the citizens, the Ugandans should know what they want. What do we want as Ugandans? And in shaping the curriculum, all these groups should be consulted* [Open Day: Standard High School, 1995].

Asked how it was currently done, his response was:

> *Today, I think mainly, it is done by a small group, the National Curriculum Development Center. I don't know whether they make any consultations of teachers and other people. But I think for them they decide on whatever they think maybe could be good for Ugandans. But I think to be democratic, I think there is a need just as we did with the constitution to consult various people. I think even with the education system we should consult the people concerned - what do Ugandans want? What do you want to equip, or what kind of person do you want to produce. And therefore, that should comprise our curriculum* [Open Day: Standard High School, 1995].

One teacher participant also raised the issue of compartmentalization, even within one subject, when he pointed out that there was failure on the part of those who design the curriculum to make provision for a smooth transition from one level to another in order to build on previous knowledge and experience:

> *... those who design the O'Level syllabus of Maths at least they would have brought in ideas of A'Level at O'Level so that when we go to A'Level at*

> *least there is something we can build on rather than trying to start from scratch* [TR; August 5, 1995].

In a dialogue with Twiine on issues of the curriculum, the narrative unfolded as follows:

> *But we have been knowing for quite long and we don't see what has been done so far? For long ... we have been accepting the syllabus, the curriculum without being involved. This is the same with the political problems. ... But we have been accepting it grudgingly of course.... That is where we go wrong. If we are not interested in that part of the curriculum and the application of it to society ... we work just for what we are getting from there, the little monetary value for survival. There is something wrong because ... I can decide to do it my own way, the way I want. Because if they want me to assess four times in a month and I am not getting what I want, I can just assess once in a month. ... Of course you have to teach according to their syllabus ... because it is theirs. We are not involved in making it. It is theirs. We have been left out and we know that. But as Fagil Monday was saying, we are so disorganized. We are dying academically, we are narrowing* [laughter] [TR; July 27, 1995].

When a curriculum is prepared and is taken to the teachers in schools, it is assumed that the other specialists know what is going to be taught in the country and that these specialists are representative. During the orientation period, new ideas on what is to be taught are not being solicited. The orientation only legitimizes the curriculum by possibly asking in passing how it can be taught - not that teachers have participated in formulating what should be taught. This presupposition, that teachers should accept what the specialists prepared, stems from the assumption that experts know the needs of the people excluded from the curriculum debate.

The views held by Twiine and others who share similar beliefs manifest feelings of alienation, apathy and dissociation from the curriculum enterprise on the part of the teachers. This befits the language of "teacher-as-curriculum conduit" metaphor (Ross, 1994). The fact that the curriculum has been accepted grudgingly without any expression of direct resentment is significant. The outcome of implementing such a curriculum could include lack of commitment, including teaching through some form of "distance education" whereby a teacher leaves notes with a student to be written on the blackboard during his or her period while the teacher is away. What this could imply is that these silent voices of teachers are under a culture of silence which has forced them to resort to tools of the weak in dealing with the situation (Costigan, 1983). Teachers are not totally victims. One part of the teacher "collaborates, compromises and adjusts; and another part defies, 'non-cooperates', subverts or destroys, often in the name of collaboration and under the gab of obsequiousness" (Nandy, 1987: 43). Much as the curriculum is said to be irrelevant, there are other underlying factors that show its implementation leaves a lot to be desired. Along with other factors, the marginalized position of teachers in the inception of the curriculum denies that curriculum the necessary goodwill from its primary agents, the teachers. Accordingly, the teachers, who feel alienated from the curriculum, have resorted to administering it to students with a very long spoon. Put differently, a good number of teachers did not identify themselves with the curriculum.

However, when Obedi was asked whether he found any resistance among teachers in implementing the curriculum, stemming from their lack of participation in its inception, the response was:

> *Let me just say this: we haven't found any resistance at all in implementing the curriculum. I think what we have found is not resistance but is perhaps lack of knowledge of how to effectively teach from our syllabuses or from our books which lack would not have been there if we had enough resources to hold orientation courses. Government cannot call the whole hoard of teachers to write books. However, it is also addressing itself to that problem. What is government policy now is,...for curriculum panels to produce the syllabus. Once the syllabus is produced it is given to publishers, ... and publishers identify ... people who are already writers or potential writers and they write. ... We get materials which have been written by outsiders and materials written by our panels, ... The Ministry of Education has a vetting committee and they will look at all the materials written by everybody. The vetting committee endorses or suggests or fails as it sees fit. In other words, the writing is not confined to NCDC and its few people* [PM;November 6, 1995].

From the views expressed by teacher participants in the preceding pages, the belief held by Obedi is not fully in touch with the reality expressed in the voices of teachers like Twiine, Bekunda, Obadia, and Ruyonga. To some degree, Obedi depicts some bureaucratic insensitivity when he says that there is no resistance at all from teachers in implementing the curriculum. Nevertheless, at one point, Obedi had conceded that:

> *After all, we are in the offices. We may be developing an arm-chair curriculum. But these people are the ones to tell us that our ideas cannot work in Bundibujo, or cannot work in Kapichorwa whereas they can work in Kampala* [PM;November 6, 1995].

At this point also, it is pertinent to reflect on teachers' sense of curriculum relevance and need for academic involvement in curriculum decisions. Whereas teachers' earlier socialization and epistemological underpinnings seem to be rooted in the traditional/top-down education, they seem to have passed through the system as a ritual of passage. It is therefore worth noting that implementing a curriculum grudgingly is a form of resistance to the top-down approach to curriculum decision making that has marginalized the participation of teachers and other stakeholders in society.

5.5. Hegemony as school administration

Participants were also asked how the administrative dimensions of schooling facilitated teachers in preparing democratic citizens in the school setting. Depending on how the school is organized, students may tend to internalize certain beliefs, attitudes and orientations towards life which may make them develop faith in and practices that are either oriented towards democracy or its opposite. When asked in which way he thought his school was democratically organized, Bekunda explained as follows:

> *There are so many parameters which really can detect that it is organized on democratic principles. Firstly, the main ingredients are three - we have students, we have teachers/school workers, then we have the parents. ...we have two main financiers, we have the parents and the government. And normally the parents ... are the ones who inspect us. ...through the PTA executive meetings they have always to make a report, ...question you here and there, you have to sensitize them and in return they sensitize us on matters pertaining to their children and the welfare of ourselves. So, ... there is actually a lot of transparency* [HM; August 9, 1995].

According to this headmaster transparency, is one of the parameters of democracy. The other element is sustaining dialogue among the stakeholders, who according to him are the students, teachers/school workers, and the parents.

Teachers were asked to give their views on how the school environment was organized in a manner that promoted democratic attitudes, and one teacher had this to say:

> *At the moment we do not have headmasters trained in administration. They are picked, interviewed by the public service. So it is actually very difficult to have a uniform basis on which Headmasters are appointed and therefore when it comes to actual administrative skills you find that there is a lot of difference from individual to individual. ... some headmasters act democratically, they share their views, they discuss issues with their staff and so on whereas others don't. So we have that disparity. So already we can't at the moment say all headmasters act democratically. It varies from individual to individual* [TR; September 9, 1995].

Mpurikize felt that the program available in the School of Education in administration is not grounded in praxis:

> *The component of administration in teacher training programs particularly offered in the School of Education at Makerere University... Basically ... is hypothetical. It does not deal with administrative practice. No, it is theoretical and academic. It really does not address any practical problem in the school setting. So when the headmasters are recruited in the schools it assists but only in a small way* [TR; September 9, 1995].

One Education Officer also expressed similar pessimism about the adequacy of the administration component in teacher education when she said:

> *The kind of courses we undertake when doing this diploma in education or whatever, does not seem to place much emphasis on statistics and planning methods of education and so on* [Conference, Education for All; November 15, 1995].

She added that:

> *We have headteachers who give data according to the purpose you are going to use it for. If they know it is for auditing purposes or school fees collection it will go down, if they know it is for receiving government contribution it will go up. So we are really in a dilemma. So I don't know whether we are really getting the data which will help us in planning.* [Conference, Education for All; November 15, 1995].

She also exposed the dishonesty with which statistics have been turned to serve. Statistics are inflated or collapsed depending on what the headmaster wants to achieve with them.

In administration delegation, is an important aspect that enhances the smooth running of a school. This participant was asked to comment on the level of delegation in his school and his view was:

> *... he must appoint Heads of Departments. That one is required by the Ministry of Education. But ... he cannot allocate the duty of administering the housing problem. The school has got a number of houses, buildings ... it might be a better thing if there was a housing committee with which the Headmaster would be working. But he handles that situation personally and sometimes it can be a bit embarrassing and find a whole Headmaster who happens to have duplicate keys of teachers houses visiting teachers houses in their absence without telling them at all. ... According to him, he not only owns the buildings but he even owns the teachers. If he can walk in a teacher's home, house without informing, he will go in and inspect it the way he wants. ... I think that if there had been a housing committee such kind of behavior on the part of the administration wouldn't have happened.* [TR; September 9, 1995].

In the same interview, this teacher participant was asked to comment on how democratically teachers participated in decision making processes in the school in terms of raising issues and discussing them. His response was:

> *... when it accidentally happened that the headmaster wanted something done he called an informal meeting and that is when voices were raised that there ought to be staff meetings in the term at least two; one to begin the term, one to end the term. It did not look to be a welcome suggestion although teachers insisted and he called it. But ... We have never discussed anything new in the school. ... The agenda has always been:*

> *communication from the chair; matters arising from communication from the chair and thirdly, any other business* [TR; September 9, 1995].

According to Mpurikize, fear was part of the school environment at Standard High School:

> *But the staff are afraid of making any useful comments on whatever he says. ... Supposing the chairman has given his report he invites teachers to comment on his report, he will not only have given the report but even provided certain suggestions on how he would wish to solve the problems in the school. ... if members of staff challenge some of those he will not accept. He will maintain his point of view. Because of that it has given teachers a feeling that it is useless to give their views* [TR; September 9, 1995].

Therefore, participation of teachers in decision making was considered very minor and manipulated. The teachers were ceremoniously consulted to rubber stamp the decisions of the administration. Mpurikize also added that

> *... it so happens that whoever has consistently challenged the headmaster's point of view has always had to leave the school by force. He has had to be ejected from the school. ... teachers who used to be concerned about school affairs and who used therefore to talk have eventually been forced to leave the school. Either they are dropped directly or they are harassed indirectly and eventually they leave the school. ... teachers who have gone for a masters degree have never been allowed to come back even or before they have got other jobs - sometimes they have got other jobs and those leave on their own* [TR; September 9, 1995].

According to this teacher, when staff members go for further studies, the headmasters felt resentful rather than accommodating to such teachers:

> *... there is this category of teachers who talk. Me I have - because I have been in the teaching service since 1974, I don't think that I am likely to leave the service in the near future. In fact it has been my career and I may not leave it. So, I have attempted to give my suggestions on how we can improve not only the system of education but also the conditions of teachers, the conditions of students - the general welfare of the school. And I have talked to the headmaster at a personal level, I have shared a lot of things with him sincerely believing that my convictions could be helpful in certain aspects of school administration and so on. I have participated in staff meetings until recently. Now my experience has been a bitter one. The headmaster asked me during the crisis when I had a problem with him six months ago, "Mr. Mpurikize, why is it that it is you who talks and no other person talks on certain issues in the school?" I felt I had my personal convictions I can not speak for other people. I speak for my own convictions and I told him so. And I told him that if other people can not see issues or if they see and they can not talk, does it necessarily follow that I must act as they do? ... I think it was not fair for me to see certain things go wrong and I keep quiet because others can not talk* [TR; September 9, 1995].

The jobs of teachers who were not willing to be silent, were endangered. Silence therefore is a strategic value for survival. According to Mpurikize, the headmaster felt comfortable with teachers of low qualifications whom he could freely dominate:

> *Because they don't talk to him. And me I have felt free to talk to him. ... I think it is both. I have probably been seen as somebody who can incite others although it has never been my intention and I have not done it. ... it has tended to be graduate teachers who leave the school while the number of Grade V teachers is on the increase* [TR; September 9, 1995].

Mpurikize attributed the state of hegemonic patronage used by the administration to the Ministry of Education which abdicated the responsibility of recruiting and posting teachers:

> *... until recently and even up to now, the Ministry of Education had more or less abrogated the responsibility of posting teachers to schools. This has been the trend all over the country where it was the headmasters who would recruit teaching staff, recommend the same to the ministry and post but after the teachers have started working. ... So, there is that personal relationship and therefore it is a bit difficult for people who have been given the job by the headmaster to challenge him. ... and I don't have that allegiance to him like that* [TR; September 9, 1995].

This was confirmed by Muhenda, another teacher:

> *You write through the headmaster. Okay when I qualified they posted us. But we didn't go to those schools. We went somewhere we wanted. We all saw the headmaster who recruited us* [TR; July 27, 1995].

This was confirmed to me by the officers in the Ministry of Education and Sports that headmasters of big schools used their influence and that of well placed old boys or girls and PTA officials, to dictate the kind of teachers they would allow to teach in those schools, in terms of qualification. Generally, Headteachers enjoyed more support and protection in the ministry than the teachers.

During my field research, I witnessed an incident whereby Ndegami, a teacher, was instructed by the headmaster to "shut up" in a staff meeting in the middle of giving an explanation. When I went to this school the following term, Ndegami was no longer on the staff, as the headmaster had earlier intimated to me. This is not to imply that the incident in the staff meeting is viewed in itself adequate explanation why Ndegami became such a disgrace to his boss to warrant his transfer. But the fact that the incident prompted the decision to consider Ndegami's ultimate transfer merit mention in this study. The response Ndegami received from his 'boss' amidst his explanation did not show any feelings on behalf of the headmaste, that Ndegami was valued as an equal human being or respected as a colleague, with dignity. He was reprimanded as an object that did not have hope or a future in the teaching profession. The rest of the staff looked down and fell silent.

The system does not seem to call for allegiance but subservience and submissiveness from a teacher. The expectations of the environment were inimical to the promotion of independent and critical thinking among members of staff on matters that affected the school as a work place. According to this teacher participant, during staff meetings, someone may fear to give his/her views in a staff meeting and pass a note secretly to another vocal member of staff to will express their views:

> *... in every staff meeting. You see small chits from teachers being sent to particular individuals who are known to be outspoken on certain issues. People will not just talk. They want you to talk on their behalf whereas one would feel that in a staff meeting, everybody has the right to talk. And we have had that right anyway - to talk but people fear to exercise it. So I can not fully explain why teachers do it but I think teachers are also to blame because they have failed to exercise their independence. They appear to lack initiative to do anything and they do not appear to be truly professional even when they have been professionally trained* [TR; September 9, 1995].

This shows some intimidation and self-censorship that has subdued teachers into silence. The teachers' actions reflect some form of resistance to a repressive and authoritarian system. There also seemed to be some degree of apathy among teachers. This affected their performance as many testified that they were demoralized. Although salaries were inadequate, teachers did not feel that the administration was supportive and compassionate in dealing with them. Hence, there was noticeable retreat or withdrawal among teachers, and this reduced their willingness to sacrifice for and to participate or identify with the cause of the school at the moment it may be required most.

Asked to what he attributed such a development of authoritarian tendencies in the school system, Mpurikize replied that:

> *But we can not forget the fact that politically our nation has been, for the largest period of its independence, authoritarian. So headteachers are part of that authoritarian system - the colonial system gave to our politicians, our policy makers this authoritarian behavior. The workers will inevitably work under that kind of thing and they develop that kind of attitudes. Teachers are also authoritarian in their conduct in their relationship to the students. You only find individuals who will try to be democratic. But it is there. It may not be very direct but there is a certain amount of authoritarianism within our school systems* [TR; September 9, 1995].

The authoritarian strategies of administration were confirmed by Muhenda, another teacher in one focus group, who had this to note:

> *The administration, okay if we may call it an organization - our school organization, the thing is made in such a way that you are told what to do. And that is what is expected of you* [TR; July 27, 1995].

There were structural legacies from the colonial rule which seemed to have continued to characterize the education institutions with authoritarianism. Mukisa, a policy maker, was of the view that

> *... If you want changes to germinate, you do not only train agents who will bring about that change and prepare them for entry into an old system but you must tackle the system before the teacher arrives. ... if you want a school to change, you have not only to train new teachers for that school, you must change the old teachers including the headmaster.* [PM; November 10, 1995].

Mukisa advanced the argument that:

> *The new teacher is at a great disadvantage and you will understand that jobs in the teaching profession are not all that easy to come by in places where people want to go. There is great competition for jobs that are conveniently situated around the towns and the periphery of towns are the areas favored by teachers for good or for worse that's where they want to go. Now if you happen to get one of those jobs, however authoritarian a headmaster ,its very few young teachers that will decide to go away in protest and look for a job elsewhere. They will tend to become docile teachers* [PM; November 10, 1995].

He proposed that:

> *to save the young teacher the embarrassment, you have got to change the Headmaster and start the process of changing the staff common room so that the entry of the new teacher into the system can be eased, and his effectiveness as a change agent can be enhanced. And none of these things is going on because not only the teacher education system is in need of change but the support systems for the teaching profession, that is, the inspectorate, the management system and so on are themselves in great need of change. So to change requires training a teacher and drawing up a well conceived support system for that teacher to make sure that he will be effective when he goes into the field* [PM; November 10, 1995].

Much as teachers seemed to be disillusioned in the teaching profession because of the wider societal forces that affected them economically, the school environment appeared to be aggravating their situation. The administration was not adequately supportive to teachers in terms of sharing power. The climate was characterized by top-down hierarchical relations that alienated teachers. This undermined solidarity in the school community since teachers did not fully identify themselves with the school mission and, therefore, with a preparedness to sacrifice where it would be necessary to do so. Such a work environment drains motivation and leads to frustration which may act as the source of some teachers contemplating quitting teaching or moving to other countries as some teachers have done. It is not necessarily due to poor remuneration that teachers consider quitting the teaching profession or to go to teach in another country. Some non-supportive hegemonic administrative work environments may deny a teacher dignity and identity to the extent of pushing him/her out. How can school administrative environments be transformed into places that render support to the democratic principles which are oriented to genuine participation, equality, solidarity and justice? In this chapter, it has been demonstrated that realities of life in schools are complex and multifaceted. The theme of democracy forms a thread through almost all the sub-themes that have been explored. There seemed to be a very low level of genuine democracy being practiced in the classroom and outside the classroom in pedagogy and non-pedagogical school routine. The structures of the school institution espoused and practiced a variant of democracy that was in contradiction with transformative practices for building a school community based on values, beliefs and attitudes of sharing, compassion, and solidarity.

CHAPTER 6

SCHOOL AND COMMUNITY

6.1. Introduction

This chapter is based on what participants believed was taking place in terms of the interaction and relationships between school and community. It is also informed by glimpses into some of the schools that were visited particularly through everyday observations on how subjects and curriculum promoted school and community solidarity. Policy documents which outlined government plan on school and community were also explored, supplemented by views from policy makers. The sub-themes that emerged from data analysis included the following: the role of schools in preserving indigenous culture; the kind of preparation teachers received during preservice and inservice training that empowered them to strengthen the desired relationship between school and community; and the trend of vocationalization. The values and assumptions underpining these issues and problems were raised with respondents and critically analysed. Following are the findings.

6.2. Community Service Scheme

The Government White Paper (1992) recognized the need to involve schools in community development by introducing a scheme it referred to as the Community Service Scheme. In its view, "the present formal education system does not provide any such opportunity for community service to the youth but ... instead, it simply alienates them from the hard realities of life in Uganda. After completing their education, they do not feel any serious concern for the community" (p.21). One of the stated aims and objectives of secondary education part (ix) is that it should be "enabling the individual to apply acquired skills in solving problems of the community, and to develop in him a strong sense of constructive and beneficial belonging to that community" (p.61). The following aims were also specifically identified for the proposed Community Service Scheme:

> (i) To enable young people to apply their knowledge and energies to real problems so as to make concrete contribution to national development, ...;

> (ii) To promote a national feeling of identity and social equality, and to enable the youth to come to grips with practical problems of development in rural areas; (iii) To establish a functional relationship between educational institutions and the world of work; and (iv) To enable the youth to acquire military skills and knowledge with a view of contributing to national security and preventing exploitation by coercive forces (p.61).

In the overall curriculum framework for Comprehensive Secondary Schools at Ordinary level, Community Service Scheme which will be both time-tabled and un-time-tabled and examined through continuous internal assessment is included as a subject (Government White Paper, 1992: 77). It is further stated that:

> At primary and secondary stages, the scheme will also provide for community service as part of the curriculum, so that students can devote some time to constructive community work on a continuous basis while in school. Activities will be organized in the form of daily class activities, weekly school activities and fortnightly or monthly school-community activities. There will be provision for continuous evaluation in student's accumulative records. ... In addition, students will participate in community service projects for one month after PLE, one-and-a-half months at the tertiary level of education. ... Students will be evaluated on their participation and performance, and a certificate will be issued at each stage. ... (e.g., PLE, UCE, UACE) and some weight given to it in admission to the next stage of education (Government White Paper, 1992: p. 23) [emphasis original].

Furthermore,

> The costs of introducing Community Service Scheme, particularly as part of the curriculum, at all levels will be kept minimal by confining Community Service activities within school premises and the surrounding communities that are within reach. ... The Scheme will be used for multi-purpose goals - including improvement of the schools, assisting the needy in the neighboring communities, contribution to productive activities such as preparation of agricultural fields, weeding, harvesting, road construction, etc. It will also be used for generating incomes for schools to cater for their needs. However, the scheme must not be allowed to be wholly commercial. ... The scheme will be introduced in 1992/93 as it is very important and urgently needed, and does not involve much of development expenditure. ... A department of Students Community Service will be established in the Ministry of Education and Sports to be responsible for planning, organization and administration of the scheme (Government White Paper, 1992: pp. 24-25)[emphasis original].

Likewise, the Report of the Curriculum Review Task Force (1993) which sounds like a derivative of the White Paper, is filled with similar highly committed statements which reaffirm the need and urgency of meaningful interaction between the school and the community. From the policy statements, one gets the impression that indeed the relationship that exists between the school and the community is inadequate. For instance, in which ways are the students prepared to enter the communities where they are going to "help"? Are students going with the orientation and belief that community members have the problems and they have the answers to the problems or are they going with the aim of giving and taking, expressing and sharing solidarity with the poor majorities in the community? Instructively, Alensky (1957) points out:

> To give people help without their having played a significant part in the action makes the help itself relatively valueless and contributes nothing to the development of an individual that you are ostensibly "helping". In the deepest sense it is not giving but taking; taking from their dignity. Denial of opportunity for participation is denial of human dignity and democracy. It will not work. Even freedom as a gift is deficient in dignity (pp.8-9).

The view of the policy document that students should assist the needy should, therefore, not be regarded as neutral but rather problematic considering the volume of evidence showing how communities have suffered and their problems have been compounded compounded by those who claim to "assist" and "help" them (Chambers, 1989). There needs to be a clarification in this simple mandate of community service.

However, it is interesting to contrast the views, experiences, beliefs and attitudes of teachers as they see and engage in the present reality of community interaction whether there are any efforts underway that are currently cultivating and enhancing the relationship between the school and the community. A teacher, as the primary agent in the school system, has a pivotal role in "bridging the gap between educational institutions and the community to ensure fruitful interaction between the two and proper fulfillment of the schools'/colleges' obligations to the community" (Government White Paper, 1992: 136) [emphasis original]. In the following pages, time will be expended in exploring how participants and the institutions in which they served viewed their interaction with the community. To what extent do teachers' views support the position of the government policy document that formal education alienates the youth from the communities; and how do teachers view themselves as bridging the gap between school and community?

6.3. School and community interaction

In the following dialogue with two female teachers about the interaction between their school and the neighboring community they expressed the view that students who attended Ndoona Girls Secondary School were "*Definitely not poor. They are from well-*

to-do families." Although the school is rooted in the Soweto community, rarely does the school admit children from there. According to Babirye, "*First they don't perform well enough to come here, and even those who would have been able can't afford school fees.*" Asked how they bridged the school and the local community, the response was, "*I think we don't relate.*" But Zipora interjected, "*Well there are at times we relate especially in seminars but even that is a bit selective. We go to Jubilee Academic College. But not with the local community or villagers*" [TR; August 2, 1995]. When asked why there was no interaction going on, Babirye's view was:

> *Well I think it's because even in the curriculum it is not emphasized - that relationship between the school and the environment around it so that you find that when we are teaching we don't ever bring in that kind of relationship, that aspect that we could relate with the environment* [TR; August 2, 1995].

Since the teacher was a Geography teacher I inquired where she took her students for field work, and she said, "*Runyamunyu valley. It used to be a farming area.* [but at present]*There are no people*" who lived in the area. Asked whether she and her students went to study non-people issues, she replied, "*Yes, kind of.*" I asked why they did not consider interacting with people who were faced with problems of development in the neighboring slums of Soweto like pollution that was closely linked with the mushrooming factories. I expected such pertinent issues would attract the school community. The immediacy of such problems would introduce students to the basic reality the community is living under in the Third World. In this way, students would be challenged to think of how those problems came into existence and how best they could be tackled. Babirye's view was:

> *I should say that in our training, emphasis was not really given to the interaction between the school and its immediate environment. But the challenge about maybe studying the slum area at least one time I took the kids there but the problem is that when they reach there its like they have a superior attitude that "Woo, is this real life" that kind of thing. Of course they come out having studied the things but I don't really - unless if I tell them myself that , you know, you have got to appreciate these problems and if you can, help them. But they feel then that why should a human being stay in such a place. ... Some appreciate the other poor people's problems and understand them and others remain the same.* [TR; August 2, 1995].

According to Babirye, school/community interaction was not emphasized in teacher education institutions when preparing teachers. Does it imply that a teacher cannot offer his/her students knowledge that was absent from his/her professional training even if such knowledge might be valid and useful to the student and the community? Most likely, it is because such interaction is not legitimated and sanctioned as part of the 'given' curriculum. Babirye also believed that students questioned such conditions not out of empathy and compassion but out of a detached ignorance of how human beings could stay in such filthy slums like Soweto.

As a follow up to her response, I asked her whether she thought students' appreciation of the situation was a consequence of her teaching or whether it depended on an individual student's personal perception of the reality confronting her. Babirye's response was:

> *Both. Well before going to the field for the study you tell them the kind of environment that we are going to, please learn to appreciate it and understand their problems. So when they go there and see these problems, they will come to an understanding that the world is not equal and some people are really suffering* [TR; August 2, 1995].

From the foregoing discussion, the teacher pointed out that the school had little to do with the local community. The students were in an enclave of "civilization" and anything outside the fence was associated with "backwardness" that could easily contaminate them. Ironically, most of the children in this school were from rich families which, are not a common feature in the school neighborhood. If the students hailed from poorer communities, would they have been more empathetic and compassionate? Theorists say most likely not, since the school organization and the curriculum in its hidden and subtle ways relocated the attitudes of the students to regard the misery of such victims of social structures as located in themselves (Seabrook, 1993; Chomsky, 1977; Toh, 1986; George, 1987). The school seemed to be an irrelevant institution to the neighboring community since children from the neighborhood hardly attended the school.

A parent from the neighboring community, on one visiting Sunday at Ndoona SSS had come to see her daughter. Almost all the time, the daughter was miserable and in tears whereas other students were very happy, laughing and joking with their parents. I decided to approach them to chat and share with them. Their conversation highlighted family problems and exposed the lack of some of the items the girl would have needed to fit in the school community. In addition, her locker had been broken into and some of her belongings stolen. The mother was tough on her because she had not reported the matter to the school administration. Some teachers at Ndoona were of the view that, surprisingly, children from wealthy families were more involved in stealing than students from poor backgrounds.

According to Obadia's point of view, it would be embarrassing for students to see him emerging from Soweto:

> *Actually even when the students see you emerging from Soweto they become contemptuous. The students seeing you emerge from Soweto - a slum, they might easily associate you with the slum, not with the school environment. They don't want you to be part of that society. They think you are coming from drinking "malwa" which you should not be drinking.* [TR; August 5, 1995].

The slums are viewed as "evil," as if they were the consequence of unique and isolated factors that were not part of the historical processes of national development. The local drink, "*malwa*," is disqualified as a respectable drink and totally unsuitable for a role model of modernization like a teacher. Obadia felt that students associated drinking "*malwa*" with "backwardness," and therefore teachers would not wish to betray the expectations of their students and their parents.

Kuguma, another teacher shared a different experience:

> *But ... I spent some years teaching at Sr.Tito Winyi in the school. I think there is some interaction between the school community and the villagers. First of all the villagers benefit from the school in various ways. And then the headmaster or the headmistress or what has also to relate with those members living in the community for easy work. He may want some materials, foodstuffs, those things. Those schools in rural areas parents bring their children to such a school. Because the fees in such a school is low whereas here it has to be from the rich which the Soweto people can not afford* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Sr. Tito Winyi is located in a rural area. Kuguma's view was that there exists more interaction between schools in the rural areas and the local community more than is the case with schools located in urban areas. The poor people of Soweto may fear to step on the school compound of Ndoona secondary school, and since the school is fenced they would be declared trespassers. Similarly, teachers do not think that they could safely visit Soweto. There is already a state of structural violence existing between the two communities. The people of Soweto, whose dignified humanity has been reduced by the social inequalities and by the violation of their human rights, are now viewed as potentially dangerous. Yet they also live under fear and peacelessness. Structural violence is intimately connected with militarization and human rights (Toh, 1987).

Ruyonga, another teacher also shared the following experience:

> *Let me give you a personal experience. When we were out for the presidential forum for science and technology, I used to take these girls out to exhibit. ... I used to buy them take away for their lunch. There are some small slums down there for eating in the show ground itself. ... the previous day we had gone out to some restaurant which is a bit tolerable as far as their standards are concerned. ... on Sunday there was nothing ... When we were about to move out that there is no food, somebody says,*

> *"Are you looking for somewhere to eat?" I said, "Yes." ... They couldn't believe I was entering there. So when I reached I washed my hands, ... there are those dirty benches, I sat and they brought the food - matooke and meat. ...They couldn't resist. First of all they had the pressure - the hunger was there. Two, the teacher was already there enjoying the food. So they washed their hands and sat. ... one came and sat by me. She waited when I had finished eating, ... She said, "But do you normally come to such places?" ... I said you see I don't normally come to these places. But once in a while when I feel wanting to eat and there is some food somewhere, I go for it and eat it and I solve my problem. Then she said, "You know some of this food when you reach a certain place, you feel you will get typhoid"* [TR; August 5, 1995].

If the food of the poor had all the diseases imagined by the elites, no poor person would still be living. If anything, the poor are victims of a form of development that has been killing, and continues to kill them more often than "typhoid".

I have always wondered why the villagers like to serve people from town with Coca-cola when they have better nutritious local alternative beverages. They have been convinced that their local beverages are not fit for "civilized" consumption, particularly since the advertising culture of Coca-Cola has trickled down deep in slums and rural communities. The poor people would like to catch-up with the affluent who are their role models for development. The process of modernization has eroded the values and the moral fabric of communities previously based on simple, non-materialistic and authentic caring, sharing, and solidarity. Barnet and Muller (1974) have illustrated this point of modernization without development and have shown how it instructs its dependent victims to feel inadequate in their attempts to catch-up with consumption of modern items such as imported foods like tinned fish even if it has expired, mirrors and cosmetics or plastic plates. Barnet and Muller (1974) contended that this civilizing mission eroded the personal and national pride, self-determination and self-reliance of such people:

> ... in societies where the advertising agency is the Ministry of Propaganda, the opposite appeal is made. The effect is to encourage the disparagement of local culture and the dependence on foreign culture. The psychiatrist Michael Maccoby tells the story of visiting a potter in the rural Mexican village who made magnificent painted plates of the sort that command high prices in New York. To honor his visitor, he served him lunch on plastic plates from Woolworth's. The subtle message of the global advertiser in poor countries is "Neither you nor what you create are worth very much. We will sell you a civilization." (p.178-179).

As earlier noted, the students who have the privilege of attending the best schools of their times which are actually institutions distributing Western cultural propaganda while systematically excluding or fencing out local and indigenous forms of knowledge, are the future policy makers who may pass policies that destroy the lives of the voiceless people dwellers of places like Soweto, Makenke and Namuwongo. For example, the policy of dumping garbage from the city does not locate it near or in poor communities unconsciously or as an accident but are based on policies guided by attitudes of people who were socialized in schools. Conventional wisdom according to the modernization paradigm of development would like to argue that these poorer people who are normally a target of eviction and pollution are in such a situation because they are lazy or because they chose compensation for the displacement as if they wanted and initiated to sell their homes in the first place (Payer, 1982; George, 1987; Toh, 1987). It is also leaders who attended such "islands of civilization" called schools, who argue that "the social and economic transformation of the Ugandan society must start with the destruction of the subsistence economy. ... the people should abandon the habits and tradition of engaging in rural economy which has caused poverty in the countryside" (Sunday Vision, 13/8/1995). Moreover, up to the present day, such politicians blame these victims of development and then lecture the peasants on irrelevant and inappropriate modernization policies and devalue the folk knowledge of the poor masses when only yesterday their own parents raised them on a subsistence economy which is the one still maintaining their privileges and repayment of unjust debts they have accumulated (Chambers, 1983; George, 1987; Payer, 1987).

In some instances, where attempts to interact with the local community are made manifest inequalities in relating with the parents. For instance, in the earlier visit of the Minister to Muduma Secondary School, the students who were not in uniform had earlier on been sent away so that the minister did not see their poverty. Their parents also shared in such treatment. All parents apparently had been invited to attend the occasion. The grand occasion was supposed to be concluded with feasting at the end of the day, but only a chosen few had been invited to the meal. The criteria for selecting the number of parents who shared a meal with the minister was not clear. I noticed that the poor parents were not among those who were selected to share a meal with the minister. I did not have opportunity to talk to any of the students whose parents might not have qualified to share in the meal about how that would make a student feel. If it were me, I would feel belittled because my parent did not qualify to sit with the officials and other parents at such a function.

Furthermore, the majority of the parents were encouraged by the master of ceremony to remain seated as the Minister toured students' and teachers' work exhibition and other school projects. The parents' participation was underplayed. Was it assumed that majority of the parents were incompetent to comprehend the curriculum that reflected what students were exhibiting? However, the themes which they had chosen were not well grounded in the reality of the local setting. This was reflected in the failure of the students to relate their work with the local community, whenever a related question was asked. For instance, a student was demonstrating the wonders of geography in his school on an Open Day with a map of Uganda drawn on the ground featuring the River Nile, the forests in Uganda and areas which had suffered environmental degradation. The student was asked by the Minister of Education and Sports whether there was serious degradation in the District where his school Muduma SSS was located. The student replied that the books did not tell them anything like that. The Minister probed him further through his experience what he thought about it and the student replied that "it is there but not significant." The Minister told him to learn more about his District [Field Notes; August 27, 1995]. The Minister's statement implied that it was the student's choice to study less about his District. If students had the chance to make a choice, wouldn't they opt to learn about what is known to them before venturing into the unknown? The literature of sociology of education reminds us of the ideological basis of what constitutes legitimate educational content and draws attention, for example, to the paradox that the kind of knowledge about the world which students bring with them to school is often denied and devalued (Bale, 1986). The geography curriculum becomes "things to learn" or "steps on the way towards becoming a geographer" rather than an opportunity for pupils and teachers to engage critically with the largely taken for granted knowledge of the social and natural world that they bring to the school (Whitty and Young, 1976; Toh, 1986). The study of such a knowledge is what Apple and King (1977) term as a study in ideology, the investigation of what is considered legitimate knowledge by specific social groups and classes. They contend that the curriculum in schools responds to and represents ideological and cultural resources that come from somewhere. In other words, not all groups are represented and all groups' meanings are responded to in the school setting. An S.3 student from Standard High School also insightfully appealed thus:

> *... I would like to appeal to the government to reform the education system we are having in Uganda because it is not practical. It is just ideological. We just study these things in classrooms and leave them ...We are doing some of these subjects because they are compulsory. ... we have a students' council in this school. Even if we discuss these issues in the school I don't think there can be a change in the school. Definitely the school can not change when other schools have not yet changed*[Student: Open Day, 1995].

The views expressed herein by a student contradict the earlier expectation implied by the Minister that students should learn more about their local areas. Given the structures in which the education system currently operates, to what extent are students in position to ground their learning in their local reality? Put differently, do students have a choice in the in the organization of the school curriculum?

It was also noted by the minister that English was a big problem and it hindered the students' free expression in explaining the kind of work they did in their school and affected their performance in final examinations. The minister addressed his audience in very rich mother tongue but at several instances could not be clearly understood by the students who he occasionally asked to complete a familiar proverb he would state half way but students were unable. For example, he stated the following proverb, "*Obukorwe tibwita kureka bukombera*", meaning that a mob of squirrels may not have the capacity to kill but their collective solidarity instills fear in their enemy. When he asked students to interpret it, none was able to do so. At the same time, the Minister felt students were incompetent in the English language when explaining experiments to him as their speed and ability to express themselves left a lot to be desired.

Another view that emerged as to why schools did not interact with the local communities was that

> *... There is an obstacle because when we bring it at the level of a teacher, you see the time planned for the school, time for the children to spend at school is limited and even then the type of curriculum which we have already admitted that it is handed over to us and the syllabus you realize that because of the limited time and the demands of exams that is now UNEB controlling the teacher such an important developmental activity cannot come in. We find that the year has gone, you can't bring in that. Practically you find it irrelevant* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Although there were many activities going on in the form of extra curricula activities at Ndoona SSS, the type of activities focused only on interacting with other schools through clubs without any focus on school and community relationships. Yet, it would have been fertile ground to promote this interaction if clubs focused on themes related to the issues and problems the community manifested. It would probably draw in parents of the students to support their efforts depending on the level of its organization.

For Babirye, community and school interaction would improve if areas like slums were part of the required knowledge to present in examinations:

> *Now I think the examination system affects our education system. Because if they were asking about slums in general paper, we would be compelled to take these girls to the slums.* [TR; August 2, 1995].

Just going to the slums or to any poor communities can still be grounded in the modernization paradigm. If students were being asked about slums in examinations as Babirye thought, wouldn't it be likely that students would be taken to the slums to "mine information" only rather than going to interact with fellow human beings? There is going to the slums, be it local or foreigner, as tourists or NGOs with a very big video camera to indulge in the pornography of poverty by photographing naked malnourished children and half-naked adults for printing post cards or other forms of entertainment (Seabrook, 1993; Hancock, 1989; Toh, 1987a).

The girls in a school like Ndoona GSSS. and its equivalent are potential future bureaucrats, professionals, technocrats or they are likely to be married to bureaucrats and other highly powered state officials, technocrats, professionals and other elites. And with the current structures in place that uphold the status quo of inequalities, elite women are direct beneficiaries and accomplices in the exploitative process of accumulation on a world scale as Mies (1986) has cautioned:

> we cannot close our eyes to the stark fact that women of all classes in the West, and middle-class women in the Third World, are also among those whose standard of living is based on the ongoing exploitation of the poor women and men in the underdeveloped regions and classes. (p.1).

The task is therefore to explore ways and means of preparing these young girls in such elitist schools as transformative intellectuals, as critical thinkers with genuine compassion, aware of these issues that constitute the reality in Uganda as a nation and how best they could play their role in building a just and democratic society. But Obadia who was skeptical about teachers' attitudes in preparing citizens that would develop positive attitudes of compassion, social justice and respect for human rights towards impoverished communities and the environment both in urban and rural areas queried thus:

> *Do you think our noble profession will change our attitudes to circumstances - it will not because we are teachers here, we are also parents, we also have our little kids - I was surprised when I joined this school I found children of teachers are ferried every morning very fast in a pick up and taken to a very urban primary school somewhere and yet we have primary schools here.* [TR; August 2, 1995].

According to Obadia, teachers' orientation paradigmatically was inclined to having nothing to do with the poor neighborhood and their children were ferried to elitist schools in the city where education was considered to be of a better quality in terms of the kind of children who interact with their children. Their children therefore are also brought up having nothing to do with Soweto neighborhood, being suspicious and wondering indeed what kind of human beings live in such poverty. The observation about teachers' alliance with the bureaucrats and technocrats is relevant to this scenario. In their effort to win support of the ruling class, teachers have lost "the concern for the content and effects of education" in terms of linking the school and the community especially the rural and urban poor communities. McGinn and Street (1982) have concluded that:

> teachers communicate the skills and values they do, not so much because of explicit obedience to official programs in the classroom, because they too have absorbed the perspective of the ruling class. Parents, the mass media, employers, produced the knowledge, abilities, values, habits, and attitudes that those groups accept as necessary for maintenance of the established order (p.197).

For instance the schools located in the rural schools depend on "left-over" teachers who are referred to by Bantu, a ministry official, as surplus or floating teachers simply because, urban schools cannot absorb them:

> ... *Now if teachers who are floating cannot be fitted anywhere in Kampala they are all going to rural areas. Therefore that disparity of staffing of the rural areas therefore they are getting good teachers and therefore improving on their academic standards.* [PM; October 10, 1995].

Do such disenchanted teachers usually go to up-country schools or quit teaching to do other things when they are uprooted from urban schools? There is a possibility that Bantu and her colleagues who had such a belief were talking in abstract and detached from the reality on the ground - contrary to what was observed and what participants from the schools which participated in the study voiced, as Iremera narrated thus:

> ... *those of you who are working in big towns like Kampala you may not know but rural schools here are made by Grade V teachers. For example here I think 80% of the teaching staff are Grade V teachers. So that problem of housing allowance has demoralized us. We are totally dissatisfied* [TR;August 9, 1995].

Iremera's views are supported by the report of the School Charges Task Force (1994: 59) which warns that "Government must address itself to this regional or urban imbalance very seriously otherwise it is a potentially dangerous phenomenon for the future of the country". Clearly, the inequality divide between the "developed" and "developing" schools is not only clear but sharp in two different worlds but all in one country. In which way do teachers close their eyes to such inequalities and enforce the curriculum and teach the students about the wonders the future holds for them?

Teachers of Standard High School said that they used to take students to the slum communities for field work/study particularly in Geography but the slum people had ceased to be hospitable in terms of talking to them since there was nothing good that was happening as a consequence. Kobutesi narrated thus:

> *You may not easily get the ground. Because there is a time when we went as a class but carrying out fieldwork to get in touch with those people and get information from them, it was not easy. ... They sort of isolate themselves, they think maybe you are doing research and you want to get money from doing the work. Though you may suggest some things, some people hide away, they shy away, they don't want to tell you. ... People are selfish, both educated and non-educated* [TR; July 27, 1995].

She elaborated that

> *... some people have carried out research in those areas, they have discussed with them their problems, ... but they have written the things down and they have not brought in a feedback. So they feel they are disgusted with that - asking them, asking them. I don't think they can easily offer their time. They think it is a waste of time. ... They end up brushing them off, some are hiding, some are telling them "mututawanya tukola emilimo jafe mulyawo muja kutuyamba ebikyi temutuyamba ah," they get disgusted. I don't think if you go in as a different group apart from collecting information you will do much work* [TR; July 27, 1995].

The interpretation of the views in the Luganda language mean that"You are disturbing us when we are busy doing our work, yet you are there claiming that you want to help us. In which way do you help us?" Could this be a form of resistance? The poor do not wish to be used as objects by the "schooled" - not necessarily that they hate educated people as some of the people who have gone to school would like to argue. Educated people should not exploit, and manipulate the poor. If anything, the poor are aware of how they are at times taken advantage of through targeting them as "objects of manipulation" and "exploitation" by elitist unjust legal system in the name of administering justice, bull-dozing their homes, grabbing their land (Kothari, 1987), or "mining information" (Arnove, 1980) from them in the name of doing research by school products regarded as the "educated" people (Foster (1967). Referring to peasants, Foster (1967) noted that:

> ... peasants hate and fear cities and the city dwellers who exercise control over them. Since time immemorial city people have alternately ridiculed, ignored, or exploited their local country people on whom they depend for food, for taxes, for military conscription, for labor levies, and for market sales. Peasants know they need the city, as an outlet for their surplus production and a source of many material and non-material items they cannot themselves produce. Yet they recognize that the city is the source of their [un]happiness and humiliation, and in spite of patrons half trusted, the peasant knows he can never really count on a city man (Foster, 1967: 10).

The slum dwellers in the city also felt alienated and dominated by fear. Poor parents were reported to "fear" visiting even the schools where their children may be attending as Muhenda narrated:

> *... parents are already hard to deal with - I don't know how we can make them accept to come in such an environment ...I used to stay in Kikoni down there and whenever those parents were asked to come and see their children here at school ... then they would say, "Excuse me, Muhenda gw'osomesa eyo, rwaki togenda on my behalf noraba kiki ekiriyo". They don't want to come* [TR; July 27, 1995].

The interpretation is that, "You are the one who teaches there, why don't you go on my behalf and find out what the matter is." This partly revealed the kind of relationship that exists between the school and the community. Could it be that parents fear thinking that the school yet needs more money to meet one of its insatiable demands, or the child has fallen in trouble with school rules? Or could it be in connection with the way the school relates with the community within its fence and metallic gate as a hierarchically-organized institution?

6.4. Culture

Education and therefore, through the curriculum, has always been expected to preserve the cultural heritage of the people it claims to serve. According to Mbowa (1996) the survival of indigenous culture became uncertain in Uganda way back when missionaries like Dr. Livingstone came to "civilize the natives". She informs that

> This they effected in schools, colleges, and churches by compartmentalizing the integrated form into choral music classes, clubs,Scottish country dancing, and the teaching and performance of Shakespeare and other British dramatists. In these schools, playing the traditional drums and dancing were punishable with manual labor such as cutting grass, fetching water , and digging; it was also forbidden to communicate in native languages, which were derogatorily called "vernaculars."(p.88).

Teachers' views were also explored to gain understanding of how schooling contributed, through both the formal and the hidden curriculum, to the survival of cultures of Uganda. Mureebe was asked what he thought the purpose of the fence at his school served and his response was:

> *Now the only thing that the school is fenced really conveys the view that you are not supposed to enter when you don't belong to our community* [TR; August 10, 1995].

If you did not belong to the "civilized" community, you are expected to remain outside. Probed whether the school ever invited some members of the community as resource persons to share their folk wisdom with the students at school, the response was:

> *Now as teachers we would find it more comfortable because normally an institution like this one should act as an instrument of change whereby we have to interact with the outside world. So we should allow in those people, they really give us what we don't know and eventually we shall find that the students might accommodate some knowledge coming from that area so we would find it more comfortable. Only that we have not at one time tried to get these people to come here. ... Now you see that our fruits are normally valid when we get better results at the end of the year at the end of S.4 or S.6. So, I think looking at it from that angle, normally that group somehow has to be neglected.*[TR; August 10, 1995].

According to Mureebe, the examination-oriented curriculum does not create room for maneuver to interact with the community through visiting or inviting the would be potential informants with folk wisdom. Kobutesi who taught in an urban located school echoed the same point when she said that:

> *The school does not add in that time to cater for them. Maybe in our own way we are inviting in different groups of people. If we could get someone who can come - it may not be easy. First: language, language barrier, because we have to - either you have to be speaking English in order to deliver the message. Because we have multi-tribal students and the only connecting language is English now. So if you want my mother to come in this class, she won't deliver the information. She has no language of communication with them. ... we can get an interpreter but the problem is that we have not thought of that to be included in our curriculum. ... If we had enough time then we would put in those extra what - curricula work, to invite in people to come.*[TR; July 27, 1995].

Apart from the constraints of an examination-driven curriculum in terms of time, she noted that the dominant legitimate/official cultural capital, the English language, would disqualify and hence prevent the would be rightful reservoirs of folk wisdom from sharing their knowledge with the school community since they would not be able to technically deliver the information. In a situation where students do not speak a common language with the invited guest speaker(s) from the community, would there not be a student who could interpret? This undermined the potential avenues for mutual interaction and promoting harmonious relationship between the school and the community. But even the schools which were predominantly attended by students who spoke the same language were not inviting such people or visiting them.

There is a covertly and overtly implemented policy both in rural and urban schools to require students to leave their cultures and languages at the school gates (Okot p'Biteck, 1971; Bernstein, 1877; Ngungi wa Thiong'o, 1987). As it has been portrayed from the participants views, the school can hardly preserve the culture of the community if there is no positive interaction going on. The indigenous and local culture therefore is a culture of silence considering the fact that even when students speak their local languages they are still liable to be humiliated with punishments. In which way are students being prepared as future citizens who have pride in their cultural heritage? It is no surprise that a generation of "educated" Africans nurtured self-hatred and self-doubt amidst anguish thoughts by questioning as Okot p'Betek (1970: 22) in *Song of Lawino* depicted:

> Why
> Why was I born black?

Chango Machyo (1995) argues that

> [t]his is why, for many African politicans, the black person is always wrong and 'white experts' right. A typical black politician thinks that to accept advice from a black civil servant is admitting that he/she is inferior to the civil servant! (New Vision, 26/6/1995, p.9).

As Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981: 60) has observed, songs like "Wash me redeemer and I shall be whiter than snow" had their impact on the outlook of indigenous culture. He continues to add that "If God was slow to respond, there were always hot combs and lipsticks, snowfire and ambi to help the spiritual journey to whiteness and black death." How is the local/indigenous culture portrayed in the school setting so that students can appreciate it? The generation of teachers in schools passed through the kind hands of such teachers described by Worth in Toh (1974) that although they were going to teach in Ugandan schools,

> They were getting all prepared to go back and teach the children in Uganda all the songs and all the activities that the fine upper class young ladies of Britain would learn (p.137).

Much as it would be inappropriate to be inward looking and reject any form of borrowing from other cultures, however, I would consider it falling short of wisdom to systematically suffocate and de legitimize what identifies a society and what it stands for by labeling it as "backward" and "primitive", in whatever subtle ways it is done (Okot p'Bitek, 1971; Ngungi wa Thiong'o, 1981). It would also be a disservice to the survival of any culture if indiscriminative borrowing was employed in the education of citizens.

For instance, I remember one popular song that was sung very often for morning prayers when I was taking my primary education called "*Twara omushana omuri Africa, Iroko omaremu omwirima.*" meaning, "Take light to Africa and eradicate the darkness therein". In its modernization paradigm it prepared our minds that someone had to come and redeem the helpless African. It left a state of disempowerment, self-doubt and self hatred by the end of the seven years of degradation of the local culture through keeping it silent as if it did not exist. It could serve as a subtle signal to the students that they are being prepared to have nothing to do with such excluded "backward" cultures, languages and communities as a whole.

For Bekunda, the purpose of fencing the school is plain and simple and he contended thus:

> *You see, the purpose of the fence is three fold. One, you have to have one route. Because when students are passing through any direction, they are really difficult to know who is a late comer and who is in class. Anytime you will see them escape. So that's number one. Number two, we are also trying to protect our buildings and even our trees. Animals can bump into anytime. But once it is fenced you know the only entrance is there so if you are to protect or it is a visitor you know he will have come from this end; then thirdly, it is also a sign of beauty. So if the area is confined and there is a hedge and it is maintained because I told you we are also giving them rudimentary principles of how to run homes even when they go home. But it is not to say that we are fencing out the community.*[TR; July 27, 1995].

When asked how the community was integrated, he said:

> *The community comes in when it is necessary - for example we have annual open days, cultural shows, when there are exhibitions. So, even there is when we go out to assist on self-help like to lift our firewood, our students are not up rooted from the community. When they lose their dear ones we go and participate as a school.* [HM; August 9, 1995].

Asked whether he ever invited the local intellectuals in the local community to share their wisdom with students and the staff, his response was, "*We have done it but we lack resources. Because we need to transport such a person from Rukungiri.*" Probed further why such a resource person should particularly come from Rukungiri town instead of someone from the locality, he replied that, "*No, that one we have not been doing it. As I told you this is a day school. The nature of our time-table surely it is so compact that it does not allow us to have such activities.*" [HM; August 9, 1995].

The views held by Bekunda are indicative of the role the fence played in facilitating the administration to gain full control of the school situation. Also the fact that the community was expected to visit the school only when it was sanctioned as necessary partly revealed that interaction was regulated if not controlled and formalistic. The school retained its appearance of an enclave of civilization model of exclusion from the rest of society as it were in the colonial days. Much as in some aspects Mirama Secondary School was integrated within the local community by virtue of the fact that students lived with their parents and relatives, it was conditional since the available boarding facilities were very limited. In which way are invitations normally inclusive such that participation in such events does not remain exclusively open to only parents with children in such a school or guardians?

However, if open days were well-organized, their potential impact in creating awareness among students, teachers and parents would be unfathormable. For instance, one Open Day at Muduma SSS, a student helped parents to realize that the neo-colonial economy was exploitative and a burden to them. He illustrated his point using a cow's hide skin which was a relevant and valuable example in the lived reality of the people of Muduma community. The student told them that

> *... one skin of a cow which you sell at Shs. 5000 ends in the industrialized countries where they make shoes out of them. To buy one pair of shoes would thereafter require you to sell 10 cows. ... the African peasant was found making his own hoe but by the time the whiteman went, the African peasant was buying imported manufactured hoes. This is not development. We are now job seekers rather than job makers. The whites further divided us. So, you parents should stop dividing yourselves in religion, politics because the whites already did enough.* [ST; October 27, 1995].

One reverend felt uncomfortable and apologetically observed, "*what if a whiteman was here*" [Field Notes; August 27, 1995]. However, parents should be able to share their knowledge. An old woman who is a talented musician or storyteller would be invited. Okot p'Bitek (1972) one of the celebrated African known writers commended his mother for teaching him to sing:

> ...it was my mother who taught me to sing first. I think I learnt a lot from her. I learned very little from my literature tutors in school and university. What they were teaching was irrelevant to my experience - the Shakespeares and Shelleys . ... What my mother was singing about was about society, about the chief going with somebody's wife, about a loose woman and so on. This was not professional; it was because someone thought something ought to be said and had the musical and poetical talent to state it (p.43).

According to Kobutesi, "*it was during the '70s when schools were more open to the community*" indiscriminately than ever before in Uganda. As she could recall days of Amin's regime, she testified that gates of schools were more open to the community:

> *I remember when I was in senior four or five when we used to do teaching during the holiday - you dig in the morning, you cook, you go without eating but you have to go and teach the elderly.* TR; July 27, 1995].

This period was characterized by literacy campaigns and students nationwide were involved in the exercise albeit politically motivated and poorly managed to be sustainable.

Apart from the hidden curriculum as exemplified by the gate and the fence metaphors which have literally tended to keep out the community and its knowledge, the formal curriculum seemed to reinforce it in that regard. From the literature point of view, Obadia noted that

> *... about the moral change we would expect a student of literature to have come out understanding that when Okot p'Betek was saying Lawino was anti-modernity, against using a stove, she doesn't want to go to the hospital, she doesn't want to see Tina use cosmetics on her face was to show how modernity was at conflict with indigenous culture. But if you ask a student of today that "would you have the same view with Ocol who divorced his wife Lawino who was traditionally married to him because he considered her backward, because she rejected certain modern tendencies?" Then a student of today will say Lawino was backward, missing the moral message there* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Considering the issues raised in Obadia's views critically, one would be able to realize that education has not preserved indigenous culture but has marginalized and destroyed it in certain aspects. The students who pass through the system do not reflect the acclaimed role education should play - that of preserving culture and passing it on to the young generation because students miss the moral message Okot p'Bitek (1970) is conveying in Song of Lawino. The students are not exposed enough to indigenous values and culture in the school setting because the majority of the readers which schools have up to now are about far away lands. Ngugi wa Thiong'o (1981: 35-6) argues that

> Let us be frank. Being a student of literature today in Kenya means being an English student. Our children are taught the history of English literature an language from unknown authors of Beowulf to T.S. Eliot. They are made to recite, with ethereal faces and angelic voices ... They recite poems which are an English writer's nostalgic response to his landscape ...They sing of the beauty of England and of the changing seasons and flowers (p.35-6).

Although Ngugi wa Thiong'o was referring to Kenyan schools, it is still of relevant instruction to the Ugandan schools particularly those which participated in the study whose libraries were predominantly stocked with more resource materials on foreign culture than what was indigenous. If at all the school curriculum still claimed to be performing the responsibility of developing and preserving culture, one may wish to ask, whose culture is it preserving and whose culture is excluded and remains endangered and why?

For Obedi, a policy maker, the curriculum does not marginalize cultural knowledge but teachers have lacked initiative and creativity in their school and community settings:

> *... for us, for language, one of the objectives is to shape the attitudes of the children and normally the traditional stories that are in here are told by the grandmothers - literary. In other words, I am telling my children that grandmother tells - I don't say the teacher told this story. I say "Once upon a time, we sat by the fire side and our grandmother told us ABC" In other words I am saying to the children that grandmother can tell you a story. It is true that our teachers have not been resourceful enough to identify useful people on the villages ... to come and help schools which could be possible.* [PM; November 6, 1995].

Obedi exemplified with his own experience how local communities were an asset in implementing the cultural aspect in the curriculum:

> *In fact I had a school where I was genuinely interested because I was educatedthere, my ABC and went to help and build it. But we wanted to start a trade of backcloth making, we had to invite somebody from the local environment - the locality who had this skill of making this back-cloth and he helped us. And then we wanted somebody who could play some African instrument, like Endigidi, Mandida. And none of my teachers knew how to do that or even how to make it and there were some people who did, and we invited them. But the question comes, how do you remunerate them?* [PM; November 6, 1995].

According to Obedi, societal changes have monetarized school-community relations to the detriment of cultural resource exchange:

> *... where as in the past, and I am talking about 15 years a go, these people would come and say well, it is a pleasure for me to teach your children to make ABCs. These days, every effort must be paid. Government is even retrenching teachers. To tell it now there is one other person that you want to pay it will be difficult. But I think if the teacher was resourceful, I don't think that he would fail to remunerate such a person. Because for me if I was a headmaster, I could even organize a local concert for people to come and contribute even 50 shillings.*[PM; November 6, 1995].

Members of the community have not been integrated in the school community. They are viewed by the policy maker as a source of talent which should be tapped by schools. He further suggested that schools could hold music concerts to raise money from the community and remunerate it to guest speakers from the community when they come to share their folk wisdom with the school community. It would be good to appreciate such gestures by the members of the community who sacrifice their time to share their knowledge. Nevertheless, remuneration should not be the basis of community-school interaction. It could be true that where the community members may not wish to ask for remuneration could be falsely anticipated. It would not only be part of the commodifiction of community-school relations but also of culture itself. The relationships between the school and the community should be built on values of sharing resources, community building, compassion and solidarity rather than reducing them into monetary calculations. These would allow the flow of community intellectuals and talent into the school and vice versa, without fences. There still could be volunteers who would like their wisdom shared without pay and these have not been fully utilized.

I was sharing my field experiences with George Lunde, a Canadian senior citizen, on the Thanks Giving of 1996 who had lived in Belize for some time. When he learnt from me that almost all the schools in Uganda were fenced, he told me his history. When he was living in Belize, he found himself one day looking for the mayor of the city where he lived. He was told that the mayor had gone to a certain school where he decided to follow him. On reaching the school, the mayor and a few other policy makers and school administrators were supervising demarcations of a fence to be built around the school. George Lunde asked them: "*Are you fencing me inside or outside? That was the last pole that was planted*," he concluded.

The culture of the local community which students and their parents produce work with is viewed in large part by the school as inadequate so that it needs to be left at the gates of the school. Their culture is deprived and the parents are inadequate in both morals and the skills they transmit which is evident in the way they are marginalized in the school setting in favor of the examination oriented curriculum. The ethos of the school is not even explained to the parents but imposed on rather than integrated within the content of their world. In due course, this has identified the student as a member of the school but as a separate individual detached from the community and the family (Bernstein, 1977). For the parents to feel adequate and confident both in relation to the child and the school, the contents of the learning in school should be drawn much more from the child's experience in his family and community. This will enable parents to participate in the school processes even by directing their attention to the deficiencies of the school instead of the school alone focusing upon the deficiencies within the community, family and the students.

6.5. Preservice/inservice and community development

Teachers also presented some interesting insights on the kind of knowledge, beliefs, and attitudes they think they acquired or should acquire during their professional preservice or inservice preparation that would help them participate in community development. Some of the views were sought from teacher educators and officials in the Ministry of Education and Sports to correlate them with those expressed by teachers. Mpurikize who is a product of the School of Education was asked in which way his exposure to the masters degree program helped him to acquire skills and attitudes in dealing with rural communities or marginalized urban groups of the poor and his response was:

> *I did not see in the program anything that was either rural biased or urban biased. It was more or less a general course, picking both the rural and the urban communities. Secondly,the time for it in this country is too short to allow an in-depth understanding of our problems. So I think that at the end of it all we may not be adequately equipped with this program to deal with certain situations. ... because apart from the time for example when I went to collect data for my dissertation I don't see any program in the masters degree course where we engaged ourselves with the rural communities. I didn't see that. Not even the urban slums. I saw none.*[TR; September 16, 1995].

In a focus group discussion, teachers were of the view that teacher education program did not help them acquire skills and attitudes in dealing with rural communities or marginalized urban people:

> Ruyonga: *I did not meet it anywhere in my training. And I don't have it.*
> Kuguma: *It depends, I think there was that component in Sociology of Education.*
> Bwengye: *But it is not practical. Because we only deal with real parents, not these other people.*[TRS; August 4, 1995].

However, a minority voice acknowledged Sociology of Education to have had that component, albeit Bwengye challenged its practicality in empowering a teacher to ably participate in community development activities on the basis of that acquired knowledge. According to Mpurikize,

> *....Our system at the moment still removes the students from the rural setting. We are educated as isolates from the rural communities although the majority of us come from the rural areas. Its a contradiction really* [TR; September 16, 1995].

He went on to say that

> *... we are not deliberately educated to be removed from the communities from which we come. It is accidental. ... The education system does not deliberately aim at removing us from our communities. It simply happens as an accident. It is not intended. Because we expect of course to go back and serve our communities. But we simply find we can not go back. ... we are removed from the rural communities accidentally* [TR; September 16, 1995].

Mpurikize added that

> *It is not our intention that we should not go back. But the system we have had has not prepared the country side to receive us. Because up until this time, government has been the chief employer and we have often been prepared for government jobs. Our private sector has yet not taken off the ground because one would expect that the private sector is what actually penetrates the country side. So the job market has been limited to the government ...civil service jobs and the like* [TR; September 16, 1995].

Mpurikize concluded his argument that

> *Because at the end of the day, you would want to go and develop yourself at home in the country and if you can have more people trained in the system developing themselves at home, you will at the end of the day have developed and improved the countryside. What happens today? When you have had a job in town you want to build a small house in town for rent. You don't build this house in the country side because you want to get money to improve your income.* [TR; September 16, 1995].

According to Rakeri,

> *... I was going to ask, now does it mean that the problem is with the education system? ... But I don't blame the education system. I blame other factors like the economy, the political attitudes and that kind of thing. ... the colonial system of the '60s was producing people who were mostly interested in rural areas. And our rural areas were a lot better than they are today. There were shops ... booming up in the villages. And the education system has not changed an inch. It is still the same - the colonial education system which produces people for white collar jobs but those people were staying in the rural areas. Why weren't they moving from the rural areas to this way? Why was a teacher in 1960s more respected in the rural area than a teacher today? So the education system has nothing wrong. It might be having something wrong but to blame the whole of it is being too unfair to this education system* [TR; September 16, 1995].

In spite of the views expressed by Mpurikize and Rakeri that the education system was more or less innocent, the Government White Paper (1992: 60) "acknowledges" the irrelevance of the "existing state of education at secondary level" and in general when it states that: "the aims and outcomes of secondary school curriculum are not in line both with the aspirations of the students and the needs of society in general for development". The fact that Mpurikize admitted that people in the education system were treated as isolates in their learning without relating the learning process with the wider community in itself was uprooting and detaching the individual from his or her roots. The view that products of the education system were dependent on government employment revealed how the education system was inimical to developing intitative and self-reliance among its graduates. The rural poor who contributed to the education of the elite now living in urban areas were human capital brain drained from rural areas to urban areas. The rural areas therefore capitalize urban areas.

As Rakeri has argued, the rural areas were attractive to the educated in the old days because there was some degree of modernity and affluence on the part of teachers. The educated continue to run away from harsh life in rural areas. When the villagers follow suit, the cadre of policy makers get alarmed and condemn them for rushing to towns aimlessly. Rakeri also was of the view that rural areas were "not prepared" to recieve graduates. Who should prepare the rural areas for graduates? Who prepares the rural areas to accommodate the masses? And who should prepare the rural areas to receive elites? If it were not deliberate miseducation, probably the schools would be organically integrated in the local communities. Mpurikize seemed not to be aware of the subtle ways in which school operated through the hidden curriculum rather than accidentally as he was inclined to believe (New Internationalist, 1983; McMurtry, 1988; Yeaky, 1981).

The worldview held by Mpurikize and the kind of development strategy he would like to pursue for the development of his community is reflected in the kind of role models and their achievements. According to him affluence is a precondition for an individual in order to contribute to the development of his or her community:

> *It is the new factors which have come in that have actually hindered the kind of development that we would want to take place. ... in fact even when you look at it today, you will find that the people who are actually affluent here ... in the urban areas, they are the people who have bought land up country, who have got big farms up country and so on. Sincerely this is what you see. Even if you may say they don't frequent the country side like that, they don't educate their children here and so on but still you find that it is these people who have the means, who have the economic means who can go and improve the country side* [TR; September 16, 1995].

In his modernization orientation, he does not see any problem with absentee landlordism as a model for community development. He believed that landlords contributed to development although such development strategy is inimical to other modest alternatives to sustainable development of a community without such mega capital projects he was thinking of. In other words, he was waiting first to accumulate capital. The inequalities and poverty that go hand in hand with modernization did not seem to occur to his mind. According to Mpurikize, displacement of the poor with big specialized farms probably producing flowers, coffee or soya beans on the most productive land for export when people are dying of both visible and invisible malnutrition could mean development (Seabrook, 1993; New Internationalist, 1983; Barret and Browne, 1996; Mamdani, 1984).

Mpurikize also believed that miseducation that reduced the majority of citizens into failures everyday for all these years was accidental. Such an "accident" as Mpurikize stressed and emphasized does not sound entirely appealing. Rather, the school mechanism both the formal and the hidden curriculum, in subtle and overt ways, prepare students to be detached and uprooted from their communities. Consequently, products of the education system become defenders of foreign culture and persecutors of folk ways and the local communities in effort to make them "modern" but devoid of any meaningful just and sustainable development. As fenced enclaves, schools have not preserved folk wisdom. Mpurikize's conclusion underscored the point when he stated that: "*My feeling is that ... I do not see how we can recall the ways of life of our ancestors. Those are gone*". Yet, it is stated as part of one of the broad aims of education that it is "to promote understanding and appreciation of the value of ... cultural heritage" (Government White Paper (1992: p.7). The White Paper remains ambivalent on questions like: whose culture are the students inheriting through the education system? This is not to say that borrowing and interdependence are down-played in the name of self-sufficiency although interdependence should not undermine self-reliance and create dependence which has been the case.

In an interview with Somya, a teacher educator, her views were sought to establish in which ways the School of Education and secondary schools where its products go to teach participated in community development. Her response was:

> *We don't, not at organizational level. Maybe individual people may visit those places, they even have relatives in those places. But as an institution we don't have any such establishment neither do we endeavor to create any.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

Somya, a teacher educator, noted that there was no observable interaction going on at "*organizational level*" between the School of Education and the local surrounding communities. Regarding secondary schools interaction with the local communities where these schools are located, she advanced the argument that:

> *You don't expect teachers on top of the programs they have in school and I mean if they can get in touch with the children's parents and other people concerned with them, it is not their obligation now to extend this concern to the rest of the community. I mean once they are not dealing with their children it becomes very difficult. How do they begin? Unless there are particular programs organized by the schools administratively to give a talk to the community at community level, I don't see how you expect individual teachers to go to talk to the rest of the community and do a developmental job. It is unfair. ... I don't think it would be possible either. The work they have in a day , take a boarding school for example. There is almost no time to attend to outsiders, apart from maybe the parents of the children* [TE; September 20, 1995].

She went on to explain,

> *Because when you are in school you are supposed to be teaching during the day, at night you are supposed to be responsible for the children in a way and over the weekend you are still supposed to be responsible for those children because they are under you. When they are at school you are supposed to protect them. I don't see how you expect the same teacher with all those duties to extend his concerns to the rest of the community. It is not his duty.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

According to her, the school should have nothing to do with the rest of the community except those few parents who can send their children to school. She contended that community development does not fall under the teacher's specialization and therefore the community should be the responsibility of other people:

> *Those ones it should be other people who should deal with them. You see we have divided labor in this country. You know specialization and teachers are specialized for a different kind of job altogether. There are people who should take concerns of what you are talking about. People like NGO's of different categories, that is their job really - to go and find out needs of the community and maybe try to provide for them. But it is not for the teacher - certainly not. It would be most unfair to expect him to extend his concerns and whatever* [TE; September 20, 1995].

Asked whether it partly explained why the programs offered in the School of Education did not feature a component of community development, in reply she said:

> *I think it is because you expect that one will be handled by some other people. ... Like some times we get invitations from UNICEF, they come to us here they would like us to go and carry out certain researches we go and offer such services and I believe if they went to secondary schools and asked these teachers to avail a little time outside their heavy schedules at school, they might get that input as well. What I am trying to say is that it is not their specialty to handle the community.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

I posed the idea that if teachers or Somya initiated a project in some of the surrounding communities like Katanga slums and sought funding rather than waiting for UNICEF first to approach them this would be progressive. This would be bottom-up approach to identifying problems by involving the beneficiaries. Similarly, if teachers collaboratively identified a problem with the affected beneficiaries in the community where their school is located, focused on it and sought funding as researchers still would be a positive change in the current outlook as far as teacher's involvement in community work and development is concerned. To these views, Somya's response was

> *No. What I think is that it should be the other way round. It should be the other people whose concerns are particularly those ones, they are actually trained and, you know - they have sociologists, and they have social workers and they are the ones who are really specifically trained to handle the community and community problems. ... Otherwise, it is not the teacher's concern at all. The community is not their concern. It is the school and the immediate people that are concerned with the school and that is the parents. That's why we have PTA. It stands for Parents Teachers Association.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

Since this teacher educator believed that secondary school teachers should confine their interaction to parents who had children in that particular school it was considered important to find out whether she believed that in the case of teacher preparation at the university, only parents who had children in the School of Education should be integrated rather than having in mind the entire society and her view was:

> *You see when you come here at the University level, there are a number of departments - different departments. If you go to the faculty of Social Sciences that faculty is really rightfully dealing with the community. So, they are the best. If you want to tackle community problems you have a hundred and one of them and you seek information from somebody from that faculty they are the best equipped to handle those problems.* [TE; September 20, 1995].

Asked whether she was aware that some educational problems were being researched by people in the social sciences, her view was: "Yes, *because .... you find that people today are doing things they are not supposed to do simply for other reasons. ... Monetary,*

monetary issues" Probed further whether the people in education did not want the money that she believed was the major motivating factor for those in social sciences to research into problems in the domain of education, her response was:

> *Because they haven't come to us. But what I am trying to say is that, unless you find a problem being advertised in the mass media and you respond and maybe you write a proposal and give it to the University Research Grants Committee in the University to do with your area it will be difficult to establish a problem in Kivuru. I will not establish the problem by going to Kivuru. If the people of Kivuru have a problem, if they come to me I will be ready to come in. What I am saying is that the community should be sensitized to approaching these various bodies.*[TE; September 20, 1995].

Asked who should sensitize those people, her response was:

> *Well the people concerned with these social work and sociologists and whatever, the NGO's - its their duty.* ***I really feel cheated that you should be asking me questions concerning the community because it is really outside our concern.*** *... As I was saying that problems, when they are identified, I am saying this because I want people to seek those who they think can solve their problems. We educationists here are waiting and if you come with an educational problem I don't see why I shouldn't attend to you. But I am not going to come to you to find out what your problem is.* (emphasis mine) [TE; September 20, 1995].

This view is not held by Somya alone as this statement of another teacher educator, Kadari, stated:

> *Universities don't go to tackle problems of villages. The policy makers do. They ask consultancy from the University. So this serves as a consultancy really.*[TE; September 18, 1995].

These are very strong attitudes and beliefs which are deeply rooted not only in the minds of these two respondents but in the systems policies. For instance, it would be interesting to ask how much of the university budget goes to community service in relation to other sectors. However, these views expressed by teacher educators are not per se generalisable to the entire faculty staff of the school of education and, indeed, the rest of the teachers. Nevertheless, these views are shared by a significant majority. The view that those who have the problems should come to the "expert" or "consultant" is for instance typical of the medical profession, where patients may travel many miles to look for a medical person, and other professionals like those in the legal profession. Do policy makers who have passed through these tertiary institutions act differently from their mentors in such educational institutions?

Hence teachers are not any different from their mentors. Schools are not an integral part of the communities where they are located. There is still a long way to go in order to achieve some level of integration as Boona, a teacher educator, testified:

> *Okay we really train teachers. The teachers in the field who taught me ... the institution is an island divorced from the community. Actually for me I don't expect you to ask me anything about the school and the community. I don't ... know what I am supposed to do for my community. But when you go out of school or in society and they know that you are a teacher you see people expecting you to be an Resistance Council representative, people are expecting you to speak out for them this and the other. And we learn these when we go out but we have nothing to do with it when we are in school and in training* [TE; September 20, 1995].

Teachers who participated in the workshop that was concluding this study's fieldwork were of the view that the issue of schools being isolated islands can not be resolved by the mere opening of their metallic gates but by transforming the whole concept of the metallic gate. Participants argued that opening of the metallic gates should take place concurrently with the opening of the gates of people's hearts that currently are closed to the surrounding communities. The following excerpts from teachers' group exchanges makes the point more vivid:

Tr A: *"Usually the metallic gates are for security"*

TR B: *"As a recommendation me I would suggest that we loosen the nuts on our gates"*

Tr C: *"The question is not with the gate but with the principle of interaction"*

Tr D: *"You are not meaning the metallic gates literary".*

Tr B: *"Yes, I mean both the metallic gates and our hearts".*

Tr D: *"Sometimes even the community around you might be negative. For example when you come out and go to these local bars and you want to take this* ***tonto***, *[local brew] they start saying "Actually Actually has come, Actually has come"*

Tr C: *"But you see they look at you as someone who has joined another section."*

Tr D: *"Language barrier."*

Tr C: *"There is very limited interaction with the community because of lack of attitude, there is lack of commonalties"*

Tr A: *"And whose duty is it to bridge that gap?"*

Tr C: *It would be you, but you are less interested" [And the rest laughed].*

Tr E: *"But that group might be expecting something from you. That group might be expecting something from you but you don't have money.*

Tr C: *"But have you considered the time factor, lack of time, lack of money that keeps us on our toes looking for survival."*[Participants Workshop; Nov. 12, 1995].

The view that "villagers" regard people who have gone to school as a tribe of elites or "*Abactually*" is based on the beliefs and attitudes that are consistently portrayed, practiced by teachers and their English speaking enthusiasts. When speaking English, many people tend to habitually mention the word "actually" and the villagers picked on it as the identity of the elites who may be speaking to "villagers" mixing English and mother tongue or who use English when backbiting/despising or to exclude the other person in a conversation whom they call "*Omunyakyaro* " or villager but derogatively used, with a connotation of backwardness. Hence, at times, the villagers do not mix all that freely with such people or for that matter teachers. The villagers also tend to deal with such people with caution (Foster, 1967). Inwardly, the teachers are also envious and jealous of the well to do elites whom they believe "*have forgotten us*" and are "*eatingalone*" - not that the majority of the teachers totally reject the social structures that sustain inequalities. Teachers could be categorized as impoverished elites who have been left out by mainstream modernization. Their sentences are punctuated by "actually", and this has earned them, and those who have gone to school, the name "*Abaactually*". This portends a structure of potential conflict which in some cases may slide into violence between those who have gone to school and the masses who feel they are despised and are a target of exploitation.

One teacher in a focus group had this observation to make when I suggested that teachers should view the local community as their joint partners in the struggle to make society a better, peaceful and harmonious place to live:

> *You said that we should work together or collectively. But we are divided according to classes. We have got individualism. Here we have different societies which have different beliefs. First of all there is a common man, there are also those in the middle, and there are also those on top. ... this business of working together so that we can raise up our grievances ... is still difficult because we are divided on social basis. One is a common man, for me I am a teacher - not taken as a teacher in this locality but a learned man. Then there is my boss possibly he knows more and here there has been the business of politics - all those.*[TR; August 24, 1995].

This also challenges the possibility and success of social integration of the elites and the masses without serious effort to tackle the pillars supportive of the structures perpetuating social and economic inequalities. The unequal power relations seemed to be inimical to any meaningful interaction and participation of the poor masses and elites in national development (Toh, 1986; McLaren, 1989; Freire, 1970; Apple, 1983).

6.7. Vocationalization

In an effort to synchronize schooling with the community, the introduction of Community Service Schemes was to be enhanced by vocational education which was viewed as more functional and a backbone to the development process of the country. As it has been noted elsewhere, vocationalization was not viewed by some respondents as something new in Uganda as this policy maker observed:

> *Kajubi was appointed to make this commission. One of my contributions was that many of the areas of concern in education that we see today are not - we are not inventing any wheel. These things have been there except that they have failed in implementation. When you look at vocationalization people talk of vocationaliozation as if it is a new idea. It is not. I was reading a letter, one of the earliest letters missionaries wrote to our chiefs here at the close of the 19th century and they were saying to these people, to the chiefs - you send your children to school we shall send our young men to teach these children of yours the beauty and riches that lie in the soil, the beauty of the trees, and so on and so on. Now this idea of teaching the hand, of training the hand for the manual skills came with these people. They said we want to give the three Hs', the education of the Heart - to them religion, the education of the Head which was the intellectual part of it and the education of the Hand. But as time went by these things failed. And I think if one had to make new research, perhaps one would just make a research into why these things failed - not that these things have never happened in this country.* [PM; November 6, 1995].

The view that the idea of training the hand in manual skills came with missionaries and other foreigners is false. If it were true, African societies would not have survived without manual skills. Even currently, it is indigenous subsistence agriculture that feeds and runs the economy of Uganda, including debt payment. The kind of failure Obedi meant in implementing vocationalization is inherent in the following narrative:

> *The National Curriculum Development Center started this Namutamba project which aimed at training children's skills, manual skills, and shaping children's attitudes towards the dignity of labor. Because whereas before people thought that dignity was always and only in offices, the Namutamba project was saying dignity can be found in the field when you are growing whatever, dignity can be found in any workshop, dignity can be found anywhere where you can get a job which can give you some money to live on. And this is something we are very proud of which the NCDC*

> *participated in our attempt to fulfill this national aspiration.* [PM; November 6, 1995].

Probed on how far the Namutamba project went, Obedi explained that

> *... it did go quite far because we started with a teacher's college. We started with one teacher's training college and a few schools around. But it failed because it lacked inter-government support. Because if I am going to teach my children that farming is good and I equip them with farming skills at the school, when they leave school, they should go out of school to find [a] that there is land, but the Ministry of education doesn't control land. So many of them went out with all these skills, eager to utilize them but found that they did not have land. But even those who found land, the marketability of those crops became difficult because the roads were not there. So at the end of the day they produced fruits, crops but because they could not sell them in the right way, they put them by the way side where one or two motorists passed during the whole day, and these people looked at these crops and they bought then at very terrible prices and at the end of the day these children said although we have the skill, there is no future in this. So they run back to Kampala or to towns which was unfortunate. Where we failed I think is lack of inter-ministerial support. ... The ministry of education did its part, but for our part to be successfully accomplished, other ministries should have come in.*[PM; November 6, 1995].

A plethora of views which emerged from interviews with various officials in the Ministry of Education and participant teachers also expressed pessimism in the wonders of the new zeal vocational education is assuming in policy documents. The way knowledge is ranked, distributed to selected members of society and how those who have it are also ranked, remunerated and treated in society unraveled a contradiction that did not generate adequate good will for vocational education to be a successful project. Another policy maker, Owiny, revealingly noted that

> *...when we look at the basic divisions between the rich and the poor we also come to realize that when we talk of the rich there are the people who sit in the offices, who drive nice cars. The poor are the people who work, sale small items to maintain their children in school. This is also being projected in the kind of subjects we offer. Children of the rich think that any subject which has got to do with manual work is for those who are academically handicapped, things like these technical subjects, to do woodwork, no no no. My father cannot allow me to do that - Home Economics to go and cook and so on. You find that the government is saying we have a lot to learn from these vocational subjects and as a result we are going to emphasize it to all our children right from primary school rich and poor. That they have got to work with their hands. In that way the son of the poor shares the making of a mat with another son of a rich man. The gap between the two begins to be bridged in the classroom. And we also do realize that in our education system schools with a lot of facilities were doing well because we were doing exams at the end of a period of time - seven years, four years. We are saying this has advantage for a limited*

> *number of people. Why can't we look at what these children are able to do?* [PM; October 10, 1995].

This policy maker believed that negative attitudes which hold vocational education in contempt have undermined its success. The view that those who are academically handicapped should be the ones to do vocational subjects does not make vocational subjects attractive. The status and the economic returns that accrue from vocational skills do not bring those with such skills any nearer to those people who were lazy at vocational subjects but now sit in prestigious offices where they are better paid.

Another parallel view which emerged indicated that commissions in the past and the present have produced reports giving the impression that the issue of relevance of education in terms of vocationalization feature prominently and yet little has been done. It is reflected that education should be vocationalized so that children from rural areas do not emerge from this academic-oriented curriculum to become misfits in society. But apparently these reforms end on the shelves. Professor Ojok was asked what he could attribute it to and he elaborately explained that:

> *There are two factors: one, the people who are requested to implement such programs do not believe in such programs. ... To them what is important is academic education - full stop. You will find the majority of all these ministers, professors, and so on, they don't want their children to be taught agriculture, keeping cattle - no. Because they have come to believe that the best type of education is academic. That is the major problem* [TE; October 19, 1995].

He went on to say that

> *... In fact studies have been done in Africa why certain reforms even in government, not just in education have not succeeded and they have found out that the major stumbling block are the civil servants themselves. They don't believe in them, when they don't believe in some of these things, they don't take the things seriously. This recommendation about practical education or the vocationalization of education did not start in 1963, it started in 1925 - the Phelps Stock Commission Report. Definitely that is when the idea of practical oriented education or rather education should reflect the values and traditions of life of the people were put there. But the problem as I said was that the people who were meant to implement this never believed that this was good education. That is one major reason why the thing has been failing* [TE; October 19, 1995].

He also alluded to the legacy of colonialism that

> *... when the colonial masters came they looked at everything African as backward and primitive, so when they introduced schools, the people accepted them ... But when they talked of agriculture it was not welcome ... they said that is what the majority of us have been doing and we are*

> *primitive. ... our children should learn the kind of things that white children are also learning. ...you said we are backward, we are primitive so why should we learn something about our primitive life? We should learn about what made you great, what made you conquer us. ... the white children are never taught this*". [TE; October 19, 1995].

The commonly held view that Africans "resisted Western culture and civilization" and therefore is one of the reasons why they are backward seems to be contrary to what Owiny has advanced. Could it be that there was over-embracing of western culture without regard for the good indigenous culture would have contributed to facilitate development? Mbowa (1996: 88) has also noted that "[t]he people came to despise all that was their own [culture]. Since their colonial overlords punished them with manual labor, the natives regarded manual labor as demeaning rather than as useful social activity; in the post colonial independence era such an outlook still prevails." The mentality of regarding practical education with contempt was also aired by a teacher, Musoke, as follows:

> *Let me give you an example. Some parents, especially the children of the elites, when their sons put their choices at Makerere University and they get two principals of BB, then the Minister will come to the Principal of the Polytechnic -eh can I get a place at your technical. So for him even the attitude is wrong. He thinks about technical education when his son has got low points. He never thought about it until his son got weak points. Then the Principal asks them that who told you that we take people like this - and they become surprised* [TR; August 4, 1995].

According to Mangeni,

> *...we have not had a lot of success in vocational subjects ...because they are very expensive to maintain. If you look at technical subjects, they use perishable items and these perishable items are very ,very expensive. If you take an example of woodwork you have got to get timber and timber is very scarce and expensive. Moreover when a student works on a stool like this by the time he reaches this stage, he has destroyed so much of the timber and so on. ... If you look at equipment, ... electricity for the machinery that is very expensive ... to sustain these departments ... In addition, people think that it is a dirty kind of work. You use a lot of energy, you sweat, you become dusty and gleesy all over. So people compare with someone who is sitting in an office with a tie and a good chair and so on rather than being in a workshop where things are noisy. I think that syndrome is still with us in that we don't look at the money only but we also look at the status of the kind of occupation we have.* [TE; October 10, 1995].

To what extent has government given genuine commitment to vocationalization in terms of grades for those who join such institutions, rewards to those with such skills, and the general policy implementation process? What is the vote of vocational education compared to academic education? In a subtle but instructive manner, the Government's position on what is valued is clearly expressed in the following statement:

> ... The final 2 years should ensure adequate preparation for A'level students who wish to pursue courses in higher education. Government will provide ... facilities for training on-the-job and employment for school leavers who are unable to continue with formal education (Government White Paper, 1992, p.63).

According to this Government White Paper statement, some students are regarded as students who wish to pursue courses in higher education and another category as school leavers who are unable to continue with formal education. In line with the operations of the hidden curriculum, this subtle streaming ensures that "children of the ruling classes are educated with the aim of keeping them in control of society".

The trend is that students streamed into nonacademic curriculum routes are trained in the ways of following and serving, while those in the advanced academic routes are trained in the ways of dominance and leadership" (Connelly and Clandinin, 1988, p.155). Carnoy (1982) and Bacchus (1988) have also noted a similar development. It is this latter category that is always expected to join vocational education which is more closely tied to community and rural developmental needs than any other kind of education. However, the policy makers believed that vocational education was education for those who were unable or failures as far as expressing their wish for higher education was concerned. This has been practically translated into practical reality as products of such institutions enjoy less respect, low status and prestige as Owiny cogently pointed out:

> *The problems of vocationalizing our education system are two: one is the political will. There is a lot of talk that we want job creators but not job seekers. The best pupils will go to secondary schools and those who have not done very well will be admitted in technical schools. That becomes a policy. Now it is self defeating if at a political level you are making a decision where you are emphasizing this and at academic level the same policy maker is saying that the very best will go in for a particular kind of education and not that one. Because it looks as if the other one is not valuable. It is a contradiction. ... How committed are we politically to implement vocational education. The cost may be very high but do we have the commitment?* [PM; October 10, 1995].

Furthermore,

> *... we look at the kind of curriculum that we have for vocational education. Some of them are rather disturbing in that if you look at technical institutes and technical colleges as far back as 1991 they did not have any syllabi of their own. They simply reprinted the syllabi of City and Gilds - somewhere*

> *in London. Now as a nation we must be able to evolve our own curriculum for these vocational subjects.*[PM; October 10, 1995].

He went ahead to propose that

> *Unless we can work on the political will to vocationalize and the academic commitment to Ugandanize some of these items so that they do not become and look very expensive I can see that there is no point of starting woodwork, as I used to be taught in Laibi, to make this kind of joint only. At the end of two hours of workshop practice, they are thrown and burnt. This is a waste. We must come out with a design so that when this child makes this joint it can be utilized somewhere. Let it be functional. This question of teaching vocational subjects to pass O'level is useless. ... So everything that takes place in our workshop must be redirected at a purpose and the purpose must not only fit in the classroom but in the community.* [PM; October 10, 1995].

Asked whether they found at the inception of the curriculum that the consumers or the community where the schools were rooted had any input in generating views and ideas of the kind of curriculum that would benefit them, the response was:

> *At the moment no. I am being very sincere with you. We do not involve the communities in the design of our curriculum. We start from the classroom teacher and we find out that the classroom teacher is already detached from the common man who is some miles away from the school. But we are saying, if I am doing agriculture why can't I find time and go with these kids to the village and see how they grow bananas. But that may be another expensive thing which may not fit in our curriculum[laughter]. But I am saying if we can do that it would be beautiful. If we are teaching metal work why don't we go to these garages and see what takes place there and how these machines and engines operate. We have not learnt to relate what we learn in the classroom to what takes place in the community where we live.*[PM; October 10, 1995].

Ndegami, a teacher of agriculture in a rural located school said that the school did not have a farm, implements and chemicals to use which made it problematic for him to teach his subject. When he was asked whether the kind of implements the villagers used to grow food that fed him and the students he taught agriculture qualified as implements, his response was, "*they are rudimentally implements*". Asked why he did not take advantage of linking the school and the community by having agricultural practical lessons in the farming community surrounding the school, his response was, "*I have never thought of that, and in any case, it requires more time than the school timetable can allow.*" In his view, rudimentary implements were not advanced enough and progressive for the kind of agriculture students are introduced to. Should development only be conceived in terms of mechanized agriculture, the Green Revolutions and agribusiness ? (Toh, 1986; Timberlake, 1987).

However, the inconsistency of government policy statements in their translation into practical realities also left many questions unanswered. For example, the government White paper has carefully slotted in a clause to protect children of those who participate in the policy making debate particularly those whose children go to study abroad by undermining the would-be-meaningful Community Service Scheme in yet another subtle manner in the following provision:

> Ugandan students who obtain their qualifications abroad will be required to undertake at least two months of Community Service Scheme activity organized during vacation time, before they can be employed by government or in the formal private sector. This will assist them to benefit like their counterparts who have done their education locally, from the positive effects of the Community service scheme; it will also orient them towards the new demands of Uganda's society. ***However, the Director General of Education ... may adjust this requirement for any returning student, if he is satisfied that it is necessary to do so without undermining the intentions of the scheme*** (Government White Paper, 1992: 24) [emphasis mine].

This is in line with the earlier cited statement which claims that those who go for further higher education "***wish*** " to do so and those who do not are "***unable***" and therefore have failed to express their wish. Whose children study abroad and why should the adjustment be considered necessary, and what should be the basis of the adjustment are not stated anywhere in the policy document but left to the discretion of the well meaning Director General of Education. According to Mangeni, the genesis of some of these problems that have kept schools and community in a dysfunctional relationship was the bureaucracy:

> *I think it is the bureaucracy. If we look at what has been happening, the curricula has been starting from a small number of people - experts in quotes. And these experts actually are the experts in the offices or in certain centers rather than those who are right there. If we could go and involve the community sincerely speaking we would come up with a better kind of curriculum - practical and useful for the nation. But in many cases you find that you get a bit of people Kibuli here, Gayaza, Namilyango you get a few people who you think are experts and then they sit down and then begin writing a theoretical curriculum and that is where the problem is.With this White Paper and this decentralization taking place the most important thing is actually to sit down and be sincere and rather than trying to protect my office or my job we go back and see what is really is needed by the rural person. How do we really make the curriculum pro-people rather than pro-jobs or pro-offices? That is where the problem is. You see some one is sitting in the curriculum development center and because he has got. ... we don't ignore where we are now but let them go further, because they are the technocrats alright let them get those crude ideas from the villagers and*

> *come and polish them so that they can be in a workable curriculum. But at the moment we are not utilizing these people and yet they have got quite a lot of reserved knowledge which can help us.*[PM; October 10, 1995].

Nevertheless, Bantu, a policy maker, felt that not all is lost in vocational education. In her view, she said that

> *By the way I want to point out, while we are talking about our failure to take our curriculum to the people and to integrate our curriculum with that of the community I want to point out that at the moment there are a lot of youth who are doing a lot of work especially when you go to villages on Entebbe road you will find English speaking boys making a lot of bricks, making a lot of tiles and selling them. Me I think that is a sign that we are on the way to something. When these boys fail to get jobs or when they fail to go to high school after doing their S.4 many of them have gone and started their own things. In the villages you find these young boys speaking very good English and they are selling their bricks, they are in their dirty clothes they are not feeling ashamed. Some of them have put up permanent structures. I don't know whether this is everywhere but in many parts of the West and in many parts of Buganda a lot is taking place. We must not despair.*[PM; October 10, 1995].

According to Bantu, for English speaking boys to be found making bricks was a sign of development in as far as adapting school leavers to their communities is concerned. One would probably ask: does it require a poor parent to invest in an academic education for his child to be able to acquire English to take a job at a brick making site? In most cases, brick making was taken on after dropping out of school. In other words, the skill was not even learnt from school but at the site where bricks were being made, probably taught by experts who have never entered formal classrooms nor can speak English but can communicate in other local languages, and maybe one international language like Kiswahili.

Speaking English without a good job might be the broken dream that has locked out children of the poor masses who had been convinced that investing in the education of their children remained the best of all investments (Shultz, 1961). Could it be projecting a bad image of education by contributing to the rejection of the irrelevant type of education by parents who refuse to send their children to school rather than the claim that it is because of such parents' ignorance about the value of education and due to their own illiteracy? This could be truly so, particularly when one considers the fact that some of the well-educated professors hail from very humble families with parents who did not have formal school education. This is unlike the current generation of parents who, as one school administrator in an up-country school intimated, have passed through the current type of education system. A poor parent would not find it rational and prudent to rob the rest of the children of a meal or a piece of soap, medicine, or money that would cover half of another child's naked body to invest in the education of one of their brothers up to S.4 in the current elitist dis-orienting education. In the majority of cases, children of the poor end uprooted, detached and unable to adapt to rural life that thrives on manual labor for which at school they learn to develop contempt (Nyerere, 1968; Rajabali, 1993).

At this moment may wish to ask: which community is bridged to the school and which one is delinked from the school and why? How can they be linked with the teacher playing a transformative role in this process, "bridging the gap between educational institutions and the community to ensure fruitful interaction between the two and proper fulfillment of the schools'/colleges' obligations to the community" (Government White Paper, 1992: 136)? [emphasis original]. The White Paper recognized "forging national unity and harmony" as one of the national aims and goals of education. It was further stated that this would imply:

> unity between various ethnic groups, ***social integration of the elite with the masses,*** evolution of national common values, removal of regional imbalances and economic disparities and the democratic establishment of a central authority Government White Paper, 1992: 6 [emphasis mine].

As long as schools (elites) remain enclaves, isolated and cordoned off from the community (masses), preaching and documenting social integration of elites with the masses will remain a suspect enterprise, suspect in a sense that it will be kept on the shelves in documents and or preached in political rhetoric to soothe and domesticate the public when real and actual inequalities of all forms are further reproduced and structures that sustain them entrenched - locally and nationally (Freire, 1970; Macedo, 1993; Brookfield, 1986).

In conclusion, one may infer that the school and the community are not interacting effectively in a manner that would promote values and attitudes of community-building geared toward a self-reliant society based on solidarity. The schools continue to operate as isolated islands of "civilization" where the community sent their children to drink on the fountain of pure knowledge without the input of the community in terms of cultural values, knowledge and skills that would enhance learning of the students to become more responsible citizens to their communities and the nation. There is unequal exchange of knowledge whereby schools are viewed as the custodians of the cherished commodity of knowledge. Teachers and policy makers expressed awareness of the unproductive relationship between the school and community. In all the schools visited, none was involved in a project of any kind within the local community based on present and future issues and problems of society. The communities were more or less mere hinterlands where the products of the school industry come for processing. This is not to imply that there was no relationship at all. There was one but it left a lot to be desired, based on parents contributing money to run the school. The role of schools in preserving indigenous culture of the community did not seem to be taking place as its capacity to contribute to national development remained disapproved and marginalised in the school curriculum. The kind of preparation teachers received during preservice and inservice training that should have empowered them to promote a culture of solidarity between school and community contributed very little to that goal. Teachers felt that they had no such orientation to community development which follows that the students who pass through their hands do not develop the necessary values, attitudes that would make them want to participate in rural development. The trend of vocationalization did not show much prospects of contributing to school and community interaction based on principles and values that would promote self-reliance and self-determination rather than fostering dependence.

CHAPTER 7

EDUCATION AND DEVELOPMENT

7.1. Introduction

This chapter attempts to present views on the perceptions of teachers, teacher educators, school administrators, and policy makers on education and societal development. In particular, the way they considered education to be relevant to the needs of societal development and how their responses revealed the kind of paradigmatic orientations in terms of their experiences, views, beliefs, attitudes held were explored. Consideration was also given to views teachers held in relation to their contribution to the building of a more self-reliant, democratic, just and peaceful society. This chapter also tapped the views from policy documents like the White Paper on Education for National Integration and Development whose main objective is to "make education relevant, of high quality and capable of achieving the cherished goals of unity, economic prosperity, and genuine independence of Uganda" (Government White Paper, 1992: 1). The idea was to supplement data secured from participants' views and observations. In this chapter, effort was made to create as much space for the voices of the participants as possible so that their views, beliefs and experiences could be reflected as the reality they perceived and/or lived.

The government of Uganda recognizes and expresses faith in the fact that "education is a powerful tool for transformation of society." As many governments in the South have viewed education, the Ugandan government expects education to play "a key role in achieving moral, intellectual, ideological, cultural and social development of the people in society, as well as the national goals of unity, democracy, economic progress and security of all citizens" (Government White Paper, 1992). The policy envisaged education to produce:

> ... capable and morally sound citizens equipped with the power of knowledge, correct attitudes and multiple developmental skills, all that are necessary for the rapid social and economic advancement of Uganda. The role of education in liberating people from the vicious circle of poverty, dependence, ignorance, disease, and indignity; and in the process of

> building a self-reliant nation with a sustained independent economy (Government White Paper, 1992: 3).

The policy statements are explicit on what education is expected to fulfill in the development process of Uganda. In the following sections, I will explore how various participants viewed and believed development in the Ugandan context to be taking and/or should take place. Particular consideration is given to the relevance of education to Uganda's development and the contribution of teachers in this development process.

7.2. Conceptualizing societal development

Like a diamond that looks different from whichever angle it is viewed, development has different meanings to different people of variant paradigmatic orientations. The participants' views reflected a variety of meanings in this regard. Somya, a teacher educator contended that

> *... development can be seen in a very wide perspective to begin with and you can narrow it if you want. National development for example can be quite wide. It would be unfair for us to go into national development as a whole. ... what we are concerned with is the education aspect of development. And when we either teach or carry out research, it is for purposes of promoting education. ... where as the promotion of education will have effects which will lead to the development of other areas like the economy, but for us the prime concern is the development of education. So if we were to carry out any seminars or workshops and the idea was to discuss development, you would find that we would not really go outside that area so much. ... development defined at national level could embrace so many things, but for us ... our major concern is education* [TE; Sept. 25, 1995].

Compartmentalization rather than a holistic view of education and an expert/specialist syndrome that is characteristic of the modernization paradigm was well depicted in Somya's point of view of development. She demarcated clear boundaries of fields of study and even the way major government departments tend to operate with minimum integration or interaction thus undermining a holistic perception of development. For Somya, the mission was to prepare results oriented teachers in an instrumental manner. Although she recognized agriculture as an aspect of development, to encourage agriculturists was viewed exclusively as a concern for those who specialized in agriculture but not the concern of teacher educators or teachers.

Another perception of development from Dunggu, a policy maker, was that:

> *development in Uganda should be contextualized: One must understand that Uganda is a colonial country. We were ruled by the British until 1962 for a hundred years. So when we talk of development, we must disorient ourselves from the direction that had been set by the colonialists. We must move away from an economy that was dependent on a few cash crops which were dictated by the colonialists, on foreign manpower, ...we must move from basically producing raw materials and not the finished goods. ... dependent on foreign markets and foreign dictates ... by [1] expanding our raw material base; ... we must produce more than the coffee, cotton, tobacco, copper as had been defined. We can export, as we are doing now, ... sim sim, crocodile hides, flowers, we can export anything. [2] We must train our own manpower to man our raw material production sector.*[PM; October 31, 1995].

He went on to view development from the human capital perspective when he contended that

> *... we must move away from processing to manufacturing to produce finished goods. Because when you have finished goods you have more value. But in order to do that we must also train our manpower so that our higher institutions of training, our low technical institutions should produce people to work in our manufacturing sector. We also must move away from... the civil service which is there to serve a colonial master. We must create a new civil service which responds to the needs of the sector which produces the raw materials and also which responds to the needs of the manufacturing sector. We must produce a teacher who trains a child to go and work in the raw materials sector.*[PM; October 31, 1995].

To produce the desired human capital for the development he envisioned,

> *We must get a teacher who is conscious that I am training in Mathematics, in Physics, in Chemistry in order to produce a young man who will work in our manufacturing process. So this is a cautious process. We must also produce a doctor who believes in preventing the peasant from falling sick, or preventing a factory worker from falling sick. But if we produce a doctor who thinks that he is an international doctor as opposed to being a national doctor, that is a disorientation.*[PM; October 31, 1995].

In addition, Dunggu said,

> *... we must develop our own culture of politics. ... evolve a political system that is pro-people, that is for the people of Uganda while also not forgetting our immediate neighbors and the African continent as a whole. We live in sort of a global community. So we must have a political system [1] which satisfies and answers the needs of our people; [2] We must have the politics of development, politics of enriching our communities, politics of improving the hygiene and the living conditions of our people, politics of enhancing the human rights of our people, politics of advancement rather than politics of admiring other developed countries without doing anything about it.*[PM; October 31, 1995].

The modernization paradigm featured prominently in Dunggu's views when his orientation to development did not move away from the path set by colonialists in terms of producing goods for the world market rather than for domestic use. He does not move away from the cash crops orientation strategy of development introduced by the colonialists and he preferred to regard that as a successful process of disorienting the economy from colonial policies. The orientation to producing more raw products for export as articulated by Dunggu is slanted in support of exploitation of the natural resource base which jeopardizes sustainability and development. Ecological impoverishment tends to be accelerated by the combined efforts of the prevailing philosophy of development based on economic growth at any cost (Fien, 1990; Hickling-Hudson, 1994). Dunggu's view suggested that the environment should be squeezed more to yield more of the desired raw materials for export. Although these two types of situations, (unsustainable development and unsustainable impoverishment) may differ in many ways, they are not disconnected (Gullopin et al, 1989; Monasterio, 1990). From his point of view, politics of development should be in terms of advancement rather than politics of admiring other "developed" countries without doing anything about it. This inherently manifests the modernization catch-up syndrome which some South nations follow and imitate uncritically the models of industrialized nations. Whether these models are inappropriate or unadaptable to the local setting is an issue and an assumption that adherents to the modernization paradigm often, with arrogance, take for granted (Hancock, 1989; Seabrook, 1993).

It is also worth noting that human capital, in terms of humanpower development, whereby a teacher was expected to train a disciplined, obedient, punctual, docile but efficient worker, was stressed in his views. For enhancing and augmenting the whole process of capital accumulation through appropriating the labor of the peasant and the worker as a mere means of production, Dunggu, a policy maker, viewed the value of a doctor only in as far as preventing the peasant or a factory worker from falling sick. The worker therefore is not treasured as a human being under this model/orientation of development but treated more or less as an object and a mere source of animal energy to be sustained alive for (re)producing capital.

However, Dunggu cannot be seen as unreservedly oriented to the modernization paradigm. Thus, he also saw enhancement of the human rights of the people as part of development. What seems to be missing in his understanding is that human rights also need to be contextualized and viewed critically against policies that are implemented in the country guided by IMF and World Bank policies of structural adjustment which diminish public and social expenditure (Barya, 1993; Hoogvelt,1990; Klare and Arnson, 1979). There is enough evidence to testify that the advancement of human rights and democracy, is greatly undermined by the very economic policies pursued under the dictates of international financial institutions and facilitated by internal colonialism organized by local elites in power. Put differently, human rights are inimical to the modernization-guided type of development that is dependent on transnational capital that thrives on exploiting cheap labor contained with repression and terror. Instead, "[i]n present day Uganda, the state has been reduced to the law and order apparatus (army, police, and prisons)" (Himbara and Sultan, 1995, p.91).

For Bekunda, a school administrator, development entailed

> *... general improvement of the standard of living of man in terms of welfare ... if you are living in an improved environment, improved shelter, diet, medical facilities, clothing then I would say that you have really achieved development. ... education comes in ... to do with inculcating of the knowledge, positive values, skills which can help to harness the environment, and also for the general improvement of all that I have said.* [HM; August 9, 1995].

The assumptions and values underpinning Bekunda's views are situated in the modernization paradigm emphasizing skills which are oriented to the human capital thesis (Schultz, 1961). The perception is generally oriented to modernization in terms of moving from the so-called backward living to the universally accepted as the better, complex and sophisticated way of modern living through the so-called prescribed stages of growth (Rostow,1961). The view that education would help human beings to harness the environment therefore, needs to be interrogated, for it could infer skills related to mechanized farming based on agribusiness while the majority of the people are hungry (Barret and Browne, 1996).

Kuguma, a History teacher, was of the view that

> *... some of these leaders of ours don't consider that development is very, very wide. You don't only look at development in terms of economic structures and what. ... you have to put into account the cultural set up, you have to consider the general make up of the people you have* [TR; August 5, 1995].

The belief that indigenous cultures are backward and therefore could inhibit development was implied in Kuguma's view which lends itself to the modernization paradigm (Hoselitz,1960; McClelland, 1960; Krause, 1961). Advancing similar assumption on culture, Ndagire, a ministry official contended that

> *It is because of social cultural factors. Different areas have different cultures. Most people prefer not sending their children to school for*

> *example in Northern Uganda due to fear of witchcraft and this has hindered development* [PM; October 12, 1995].

Kafeero perceived development

> *... in terms of capacity building and in terms of development of manpower. And not only in that aspect but I bring in another element which is economic development which should not be looked at as capacity building or man power but at least it is on the basis of skilled man power development, economic development, capacity building that you can judge the development state of the nation* [TE; November 12, 1995].

According to Babirye, development was conceived as "*the increase of quantity and quality of all the aspects - economic, social, political aspects of society*" [TR; August 2, 1995]. In a similar manner, Zipora defined development as "*Progressive increment in the quantity and quality of both services and products of a given society.*" [TR; August 2, 1995]. Likewise, Ruyonga said, "*my perception of development is improvement, a change in a positive direction*" [TR; August 5, 1995]. They perceived development in terms of increased consumption of materials and affluence.

For Kalema,

> *... development not withstanding the definition of development in books should aim at eliminating poverty, inequalities - the economic gaps between the rural poor and the urban rich. Development should be related to reducing unemployment ... and related to the welfare of society - are people literate, are they healthy, do they get education, because these are individual ingredients of development. ... life expectancy is one of the elements that constitute development. ...but in Uganda it is falling according to statistics now 42 from 47. So all those - unemployment, economic gaps should be eliminated - not development in terms of roads and buildings owned by few individuals* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Similarly, Owiny held the view that

> *... development should be seen in terms of human beings , not in terms of roads, airports, tall buildings but we should try to look at it in terms of quality of life of the people. And that puts it in a form that is not easy to define. So when we are talking about national development it is not the development of the country as it is but rather the people within that country. What is the quality of their life?* [TE; October 19, 1995].

He went on to argue that

> *Now when you look at what the NRM is trying to tell us, you know, things sound outstanding. But everybody is crying. That all these are nonsensical, all these are cooked figures because people don't see the difference. If anything, they have become poorer. People like me for example I can not even repair my car. But I just probably blame myself or*

> *where I am working. Or what do you expect someone getting less than 500 dollars a month, a whole professor, how do you expect that professor to lead a decent life? So all these talks that there is economic growth, although economic growth alone is not development. Development comprises growth plus change for the better. When you combine the two growth plus change for the better, desirable change, then you have got development.* [TE; October 19, 1995].

He contended that

> *So development is like learning. When we talk of learning, we are talking of desirable learning, learning which leads to something desirable, that which has been planned, the desired objectives. Any learning that goes that way we say it is effective learning. Development should be seen in the quality of life of the majority of the people - not just a few bourgeoisie in towns, in the capital* [TE; October 19, 1995].

From the various voices featured in the preceding pages, the major thrust in their perceptions of development was heavily weighted in favor of the modernization paradigm of development. They viewed development in terms of affluence and material consumption as the case has been with industrialized countries. Owiny felt left out of the modernization process enjoyed by a minority in the country. For Owiny, failure to repair his car is a sign of lack of development. The participants did not perceive development in the critical alternative paradigm in terms of people participating in development irrespective of gender and tribe, in a democratic and just society. Although the idea of improving the quality of life for the non-elite majority is raised by participants, there is still a tendency to see growth and modernization as the way to this goal. It is true, as Alan Berg, (1973) has noted that "[t]he quality of human existence is the ultimate measure of development". But Seers (1969: 2) has also observed that,

> economic growth may not merely fail to solve social and political difficulties; certain types of growth can actually cause them. ... A country's level of development can be identified by the degree to which poverty, unemployment, and inequality exists. For a long time these factors, a long with the need for change in national and international institutions, have been neglected.

The continued addiction to the use of economic growth as a single aggregate yardstick in the face of the evidence looks like an attempt to avoid the real problems of development.

In order to gain more insight into how teachers perceived development, participants in one focus group were asked what they considered as a requirement for the kind of development they had in mind to take place. Kalema contended that

> *Development would require industrialization, then sort of more mechanized agriculture so that the government gets enough revenue from these areas to finance massive education for instance, good health services, good transport system and economic opportunity for all* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Balita was of the view that

> *The government needs to exploit the natural resources. For example in Uganda we have a lot of unexploited land, minerals - some gold, we have so many. So development should be perceived in the sense of the ability of the nation to exploit resources but they are not exploited. That is why we are backward* [TR; August 4, 1995].

In response to the abcve view, Musoke pointed out that

> *Where I disagree with you is where you use the word government. Its not the government to develop. It's not the government. The government should give good conditions, facilitate, where people can develop their resources - just a facilitating environment* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Magezi advanced the view that

> *Development requires massive industrialization with linkages to agriculture, increased savings and investment.* [TR; August 4, 1995].

According to some teacher participants, the prevalent modernization oriented agricultural "development" which entailed capital intensive, advanced technology, the Green Revolution, export-oriented cash crops, and TNC-led agribusinesses would be prerequisites for national development in Uganda (Toh, 1987; 1991).

Teachers were also asked what they considered to be the root causes of unequal development. Muhenda responded that

> *... on top of natural location of these places sometimes it is political so that other places are preferred by those people who are in the government and that is where they come from ... Let me maybe add on. For example, in Masindi, we have Kinyara sugar works, that is where the farm is but the stores used to be in Gulu for the sugar used to be processed there now they were thinking of another place, now they were thinking of taking it out to Kasese. Same thing with oil, the oil which is supposed to be extracted from Lake Albert-plenty of it, now they are saying they are taking the refinery to Kasese, the storage and everything to Kasese. These are selfish tendencies. You milk a cow without feeding it* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Birija, an economics teacher had this explanation to offer for the regional imbalances in development:

> *Okay if you look at regional imbalances in development, the causes of this really are many. First of all you have got to look at the natural resources first - is an area endowed with abundant natural resources? And if these resources are there are they being utilized? You have got to ask yourself in*

> *that way. So if you look at areas like Buganda where there is Kampala that one of course is ahead of other areas. Reason, it was first developed before any other place* [TR; August 10, 1995].

As analysts like Amin (1982), Frank (1972), and Wallerstein (1990) have shown, the geographical location of a place needs to be put in its historical context in relation to the rest of the country and in relation to the genesis to the global economy. Buganda has held the position of a core or center in relation to the rest of the other parts of the country that have served as its periphery or hinterland for several decades, and as an export collection center for the metropolitan centers in the industrialized North. Another teacher, Magezi felt that

> *... nepotism and corruption which are eating away the social fabric of society should be done away with. Because with the presence of corruption and nepotism the income inequalities, the regional imbalances will continue to persist* [TR; August 8, 1995].

Kadondi was of the view [and a view that was popular in some quarters of society especially those people who were not from the western region] that "*the wealth was flowing to the West. Most of the big jobs are occupied by people from the western region.*" The "West" here means the Western region of Uganda. Magezi associated the absence of corruption and nepotism to development since their presence was a hindrance to development. However, he did not situate corruption and nepotism in the context of the structures of modernization that generate them. Competition and accumulation, affluence and consumerism are some of the values that characterize modernization-oriented development. Alatas (1990) observes that "education, career success, wealth and power are no guarantee against corruption. When the leadership of society has a low level of morality, it will allow disruptive forces to operate and undermine social morality" (p.996). In his analysis of the problem of corruption, Alatas (1990) argues that:

> We mean by the problem of corruption not the mere existence of corruption, here and there. ... Crime is everywhere but it is not the same as the control of authority by criminal elements. *When we say there is no problem of corruption ... we mean that the authority is not dominated and manipulated by corrupt elements;* that it is possible for a generation to go through life without having to bribe government servants in their transactions with the authority; that taxes are properly collected; that the courts are not at the service of the corrupt; that the police perform their duties without bribes; and so do other services for the public [italics mine] (p.985).

The Ten-Point Program of the NRM government in Uganda has on its list "elimination of corruption and misuse of power" as point number seven. The President of Uganda, Y.K. Museveni shares Alatas' views, and indeed, those of Magezi when he expressed worry about corruption and its implications to development in his address to the 4th session of the NRC April 30, 1990 when he said:

> I am convinced of the correctness of our handling of the economic, security and political matters in our country. My worry, however, is in connection with the corruption of our officials. How can we hope to convince anyone of the rightness of our cause if our own people are violating our own stated goals, thereby undermining our programs?
>
> Corruption is a cancer which, if it is not checked, will hinder progress in all sectors of society. Negligence and corruption, coupled with wrong methods of work, are a lethal combination indeed. (p.88).

The paradigmatic orientation that guides the handling of economic, security and political matters in relation to development could explain why corruption remains a problem to that level and the ultimate consequences it will have on development. In other words, in handling these matters, to what extent do issues of justice and peace oriented to people-centered development come to the fore of policies of security, economic and political decisions?

7.2.1. Destitution

Views were sought from the participants why the poor people in Uganda were poor. Katongole contended that

> *Things like poverty, we attribute them to the poor organization of this country. For instance, we have had turmoil for nearly thirty years that this country has been independent. Despite the wealth we have in this country, the resources we have, we have not had time to tap them. Then secondary, is the lack of skills to exploit the resources.* [TR;Open day, Standard High School, 1995].

To this teacher, poverty in Uganda is a consequence of political, social and economic instability in post independence era. Militarization and violence, according to this teacher have combined to generate poverty in Uganda. Birija, an Economics teacher advanced the view that:

> *If you don't have the income you are already poor. You can't expand, you can't invest when you have low income. With low income, it means that everything you get you just consume. So there is nothing like saving, no investment and when there is no investment , nothing to expand incomes - so you sort of remain in a state of poverty. And this is what we call a vicious cycle of poverty* [TR; August 10, 1995].

Zipora explained why the poor were poor as follows:

> *One of the factors is that there is unequal distribution of income so that those who receive high continuously receive their bulk and those who are marginalized in society are continuously underpaid. And then the kind of government policies we have gone through have tended to emphasize more on people trying to get money without really working hard for it. It is not inculcated in the people that they should work hard in order to get their money. So people instead of doing work try to use dubious means or other means of getting quick money and most of them end frustrated and as a result remain poor* [TR; August 2, 1995].

For Babirye, the poor were poor

> *...because our country is already poorly developed. We have so many problems, children in the villages do not have an opportunity of studying and therefore even when they grow up they don't have the means of maintaining themselves. So they remain in that kind of poor state* [TR; August 2, 1995].

According to her, education has the capacity to emancipate the poor from poverty. Lack of education kept them impoverished. The cure is education as the modernization paradigm instructs. Much as education is instrumental in the development process, it is not a panacea to poverty. Unemployment and underemployment among the educated is rampant as retrenchment is going on. There are all indicators that education has left many people disenchanted. She does not indicate the kind of education that would possibly be able to alleviate poverty. Those who lived in rural areas and got some education have migrated to towns but they are not all happily employed and the majority are frustrated with their unfulfilled dreams and live in slums.

Nalongo, a teacher educator, attributed poverty to "lack of advice" and that in addition the poor were not "being guided":

> *I would attribute poverty to lack of advise. ... because some people do not know how to manipulate. I am imagining if there could be somebody to guide these people, I think we shall be in position to get out of this poverty. So they lack that advice, they lack being guided and then somebody just sits there and says, "you know me I am poor" and that is that. ... because there are resources wherever people are* [TR; September 21, 1995].

According to Nalongo, to manipulate is a virtue and a necessary ingredient for one to escape poverty. Thus the poor lacked somebody to guide them on how to acquire skills in "manipulation". But how then can Nalongo explain mass poverty when considerable advice has been given to them by the so-called experts and specialists in "development"? As Hancock (1989) noted, "During the 1970s, when Tanzania's Ujamaa villages were at their most fashionable as examples of successful grassroots development, there were occasions when some villages had more researchers than villagers". Similarly, the view that the poor just sit there and profess poverty by saying that "you know I am poor" is despair and resignation which are signs of disempowerment as a consequence of impoverishment and poverty rather than being the fundamental causes of poverty. Put this way, laziness is not necessarily a precondition to poverty but most likely its consquence. In his exposure of international aid and development sector, Hancock (1989) questions the relevance and contribution of nearly 200,000 United Nations experts on UNDP assignments since 1970. Other analysts like Arnove (1980; 1983) and Toh (1996) note that North-South partnerships in aid programs cannot be assumed to be mutually beneficial. Rather, the trend indicates that they have perpetuated South dependency on the North.

A student of Standard High School in S.3 who identified himself as Lubega when asked why the poor were poor said:

> *They are poor because they are weak with low levels of education. Ignorance, lack of capital, and markets. And even being reluctant to new changes, when you are conservative. When you want to concentrate on traditional agriculture instead of concentrating on modern agriculture then you remain poor* [ST; Standard High School Open-day].

Kadondi was also asked why the people who grew all the good food stuffs they had on display for the school open day were poor and starving. The response was:

> *Ignorance is number one, some of them prefer selling these paw paws maybe to smoke a cigarette because they do not value a paw paw. He prefers to sell it to get money to do other things. Maybe I would attribute it more to ignorance* [TR; Standard High School Open-day].

There is a held belief that the unschooled are irrational, do not plan, or even are stupid. Furthermore, "Ignorance", and attachment to "traditional" agriculture are seen as major barriers. There is no consideration that the poor may be forced to sell the food not as surplus but to buy some of the badly needed manufactured items at hostile prices due to the unequal exchange they are exposed to. It does not occur to the teacher that the poor do actually spend their money wisely on highly priced essential goods like medicine which might be badly needed by a member of a family. None of the critics of the poor could live a month on the budget that sustains the poor for a year (McCrobie, 1981).

Some teacher educators also reflected insensitivity to issues of poverty and its root causes. They dwelt on symptoms of poverty like "laziness", "ignorance", producing many children and "lack of education" mistaking them for the root causes of poverty. This is evident in Kafeero's explanation why the poor are poor:

> *Now it depends on your outlook on people. But if you take on average, people in Uganda are quite lazy. They don't work. And that is a problem. That is why you are getting these disparities in incomes. Because if you went to a rural area, an average person is just satisfied having a small patch of cassava not more than even half an acre and he is happy and satisfied. He is not ready to grow more crop for sell. ... Of course there is ignorance. You and I are very well aware that if you went to rural areas the number of illiterates is more than a half - it is more than 75% of those who can read and write. And of course this contributes to the rate of poverty and the rate of difference between rural and urban areas* [TE: September 26, 1995].

According to this teacher educator, poverty, depended on an individual's out look on people. This is very important since it will determine, in large part, one's perception as his/her world view or paradigmatic orientation. According to him, the poor were "lazy" which accounted for peoples disparities in incomes in Uganda. In addition, "ignorance" and the high levels of "illiterates" explain the difference between the rural and urban areas. Kafeero elaborated with an example from the industrialized Western nations as follows:

> *You have been to the West of course. You know that an average individual can have work for 40 or 80 hours a week which is not the case here. People work almost 12 hours a week on average and you can't say that somebody is working when he is working 12 or less than 12 hours a week. So I attribute most of the poverty to lack of the desire to work hard and of course to the ignorance prevailing in the country* [TE: September 26, 1995].

The argument here is, do as the West has done, then you will develop, you will catch up with them and poverty will cease to be an issue. "Laziness" is held by this teacher educator as the cause of poverty among the poor. Clearly, the participants tend to be oblivious of the historical trail of exploitation and colonial underdevelopment (Jorgensen, 1981). It is an indictment of blaming the victims of development that is couched in the rhetoric of modernization. This teacher educator continues that

> *These people ... being illiterate lack planning. They do not know how to invest the money they get daily. They continue to think that they will get more the next day and the other day. These people you are seeing working so hard, if you looked at their families some of them have more than one wife. They have over 10 children. That points to what I have been telling you that they lack planning on the part of those people. And this is entirely being caused by lack of proper education.*[TE: September 26, 1995].

A ministry official, Ndagire contended that

> *...the poor were poor due to their mentality. If you are contented with the little you have, you cannot try to achieve more. But if you are not contented, you have to work hard and achieve more. The poor people in urban areas are the lame or those people who think that urban life is simple*

> *when they do not have skills to offer. Thus, they remain jobless.*[PM; October 13, 1995].

The views herein are couched in the modernization paradigm that the poor are poor because they are "illiterate", "lack planning", do not know how to "invest", they "are polygamous", and they "have over ten children" which, according to Kafeero, are a consequence of "lack of proper education". Proper education could be the elitist education which he has seen privilege some of his contemporaries. With education, he believes, everything would be fine with the poor. Issues like exploitation, manipulation, institutionalized militarization and violence by elites with their foreign accomplices are not considered as disproportionately responsible for the impoverishment and marginalization of the masses. Chomsky (1977) summarizes how modernization employs repression and terror in the name of "control" and beliefs about many children and laziness of the poor imaginatively in the following way:

> The large majority of the population is a means, not an end - in the same class as a pack of animals, only more dangerous, needing doses of terror to maintain "stability." Terror keeps the neo-colonial elites in power and the investment skies sunny. The victims are numerous, but can be disregarded because of their remoteness and passivity. If necessary we can blame them for their own laziness and excessive production of off-spring's.

Considering the views, beliefs and attitudes held by the participants who responded to the questions posed, one could infer that the majority located lack of development in factors within an individual person or a country. Since a country is indeed its people, the illiterate, ignorant, uneducated and lazy people cannot develop it. These are orthodox modernization views which have trickled down into institutions of learning that are attended by teachers, teacher educators, policy makers, and the students who are condemned to pass through these institutions. Interestingly, the teachers overwhelmingly categorized themselves among those Ugandans they considered poor. Asked whether they were poor because of ignorance, illiteracy, laziness, having many children, drinking, smocking cigarettes, lack of planning and rationality as they had advanced - none agreed that they were poor because of any of these factors which they attributed to the masses. As Samoff (1996 p.126) has aptly noted, the ideology of modernization locates the sources and causes of Africa's problems within Africa as follows:

> Contemporary poverty, for example, is to be explained in terms of the distant past (a historical legacy of rudimentary technology and small scale societies) or the climate (the abundant tropical bounty stimulates neither hard work nor invention), or the missing factor(s) of production (insufficient capital/technical/skills to develop local resources fully), or early socialization

> (maternal dependence, subjugation of self to group), or attitudinal orientation (stoic passivity, even fatalistic submissiveness, in the face of adversity), or psycho-social mindset (low need for achievement), or inefficiency and corruption, or in terms of some variant or a combination of these themes.

It is common to come across sayings like, "God has thrown the bait it is up to man to go and fish", and an interesting school logo that **"You reap what you sow"**. Zipora was asked whether she viewed inequalities as God-given from her Religious Education point of view, or something could be done about them, the response was:

> *Well some are not God-given although some find themselves in situations which they can not control. Like if you are poor because of laziness. But there are some people who may work so hard, toil day and night but they would never make ends meet.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

On further inquiry why hard work did not yield prosperity to such people, Babirye advanced the argument that

> *... from a Geographical point of view, ... there are certain things which are God-given and if you have many of these physical factors at your advantage then the chances are that you are going to progress because of those physical factors. And then if you look at the Kalamajong well they can't progress because they don't have these physical advantages like rain, good soils, such aspects.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

Probed further why places which were endowed with what she regarded as "God-given" in terms of physical factors geographically did not reflect development, her response was:

> *... there is an aspect of us either being lazy, ... or not being development oriented that all you think about ... is what you will eat for tomorrow. The rest doesn't matter. So in that way we will remain poor while other people who have a very large concept of development try to develop a country or a a society as much as possible.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

As Gunder Frank (1972) concluded after a thorough analysis of underdevelopment and development, "the greater the wealth available for exploitation, the poorer and more underdeveloped the region today" (p.19). This rhymes with the view held by the teacher who referred to the oil from Lake Albert that does not benefit human beings in that location, the Kilembe copper mines which makes wires that never bring electricity to people of Kilembe, and other areas that produce cash crops like cotton that leaves the people when it is brand new and returns to then only in the form of second hand rags for which even they lack money to purchase. What good explanation can one give for a naked cultivator who grows cotton? It is also reflective of the uncritical teaching that teachers were a victim of, hence, it renders itself to the modernization paradigm.

The argument that "laziness" is responsible for poverty among the poor fits in the traditional Geography curriculum that was uncritically imported from the Northern hemisphere. A typical example is the view in the following citation from Ontario Public School Geography authorized by the Ministry of Education for Ontario by W.J. Gage and Co. Limited, in 1922 which speaks volumes, including racism:

> The Negroes live in the land of plenty. Food can be had for the gathering of it. Although there are many Negroes, there is plenty of land for all of them, much more, in fact, than they can use. In their hot, rainy country the crops seldom fail. Life for them is very easy compared with the life of a Japanese rice-grower.
>
> People seldom work harder than they must. In the hot, wet parts of the world men do not work hard, because the earth is so generous. The Negro can grow all the food he needs with no tool but a hoe. But in our land of cold winters and short summers that can scarcely be done. We should soon be hungry if we tried it. The Negro is warm enough without any clothing. We should freeze to death unless we had plenty of clothes. The Negro can live in a shelter of straw or leaves. We must have solidly-built houses. The white peoples, who live mostly in colder countries, have hard to think and to work hard to find better ways to find food, clothing, and shelter. Therefore they have learned how to build machines, erect great buildings, make wonderful cloth out of wool and cotton, and to do many, many other things which the Negro does not know about at all. People who, like the white races, learned much, are called civilized, to distinguish them from uncivilized or barbarous people like the African Negro.

It also fits very well with the kind of knowledge that was disseminated by a generation of expatriate teachers from countries in the industrialized North like Canada who were exposed to such views and beliefs enshrined in this geography syllabus. These were the ideas that formed the minds of the first Ugandan teachers who were trained by expatriates, reading such books and continued to spread the gospel of the lazy native as most of the respondents in this study testified. This is typical of a perspective that creates myths surrounding the lazy native (Alatas, 1977); and to blame the "victims of development" for their condition when actually they have been subdued into it by exploitation (Seabrook, 1993; Samoff, 1996). The view that geographical location and lack of natural resources are responsible for the unequal development is not tenable considering the fact that the human beings who live in Kilembe, where copper was mined in Uganda, do not show more prosperity in terms of the quality of life they live than people from other areas that never had such mineral endowment. It should also follow that countries like Zaire which are among the wealthiest countries in terms of natural resources would not be populated with impoverished human beings.

A different, albeit, a minority view emerged and the poverty of the poor was explained as a consequence of:

> *Exploitation by the rich to a certain extent. The poor have not been facilitated. Most of them would like to do something but because they do not have the facilities. The poor have the desire to get out of poverty but they are not facilitated. They work for others even for very little pay which is exploitation* [TR; July 13, 1995]

Hence, not all teachers and the students belonged to a uniform category. Some teachers were of the view that the poor were victims of exploitation. The poor are not monolithic isolates but certain social, political and economic relations determine access to and reproduction of wealth and poverty (Toh, 1986). "Indeed in many cases one man's excess to wealth may be the direct cause of another man's destitution" (Harrison, 1993: 418). Equally disturbing is the situation of a poor man who grows food but is starving with his wife, and children who are dying of both visible and invisible malnutrition (New Internationalist, 1983; Bush, 1996). Instead of being facilitated in terms of empowerment, solidarity, and compassion, the poor are reduced into objects of multifaceted exploitation, unequal power relations, structural violence and other forms of social injustice and peacelessness. The concept of structural violence is at the heart of misery and poverty endured by the masses. Children dying from lack of nutrition and health care, peasants and workers sweating with hungry stomachs, while their country has enough resources for all are no less brutal and violent than wars and civil conflict. The state of affairs internally shows that in Uganda, power and wealth are concentrated amongst political/bureaucratic/technocratic elites, military leaders, entrepreneurs and/or (absentee) landlords who have formed class alliances exploiting the poor (Mamdani, 1984). The political turmoils that have occurred have been, in large part, among these elites, vying for power and privilege. The majority of changes in leadership do little to alleviate mass poverty, and usually make life even worse for the poor entrapped in the accompanying factional violence and economic disruption (Toh, 1986; Bush, 1996; George, 1987; Payer, 1987).

7.3. Internal and external forces

Since political independence Uganda has been expanding the education system with the aim of producing the cherished manpower to contribute to national development. In terms of numerical scores, the situation is, as of now, different from what it was at independence time as Mukisa, a policy maker, pointed out:

> *We have put up large numbers of people. We are in a different situation from the time of independence when there was hardly any manpower you could tap. What we need now is the re-orientation and development of the manpower for specific jobs as they come up* [PM: November 10, 1995].

Yet, Uganda's challenge to build a democratic, just and peaceful society has remained a contentious issue and its realization has remained elusive. Views from participants regarding some of the internal and external forces which influenced trends in education in its relation to development were explored in this section. Mpaka was asked whether the School of Education was in a position to prepare the desired teacher to contribute to national development. In his opinion,

> *the School of Education has not really made much improvement in terms of training a real dedicated patriotic teacher. It is very difficult since the school has not come out of the colonial/neo-colonial jacket you find that we are still imitators of the old system and very little has changed. Our graduates as it has been alleged by certain circles are not impressive as to reflect a type of level they represent. So I think there is much to be done in the School.*[TE; September 21, 1995].

He added that

> *There is a lot of bureaucracy, ... communication, interpersonal relationships all these things do matter in bringing up a good teacher. Some of these things are lacking. And there is no attempt to improve them. Very little can be done at the moment because there are many stringencies, frustrations, what not. For example teachers are poorly paid. There is no motivation for someone to really strain and do things when he can actually do something else and get some money* [TE; September 21, 1995].

Another teacher educator, Kadari, commenting on the programs offered in the School of Education had this to say:

> *... our programs and courses ... are comprehensive in nature. They are international courses. They have been approved. They are taught in the same way in other universities. So they are more or less the same apart from lack of media and whatever* [TE; September 16, 1995].

There was that universalistic attitude the teacher educator manifested in explaining that they taught international courses in the school of education which reverberated what Mazrui (1978) observed that African universities were like "multinational corporations" all over the world with the same agenda in the service of globalization. But the global agenda seemed to overshadow the national needs in the curriculum in the name of international standards (Mamdani, 1994). Kadari was also of the belief that institutions like Makerere School of Education were dumping grounds of personnel that were inadequate to provide expertise knowledge desired:

> *... In countries like America, in fact where I went in Germany, they had brought us a quark here who was training us on qualitative research, and we had a lot of problems with that man. But when we went to Germany we found real experts. They could not send that one. They sent us whom they thought - just there. And when we reached there we found the man even had failed his masters degree ... when they have their best they have a way of retaining them, they have a way of paying them well* ...[TE; September 16, 1995].

The view expressed by Kadari revealed that aid, in the form of foreign expatriates did not necessarily mean high quality skill and expertise as it should. That such 'help' and 'assistance' governments extended to poor countries was meant to create jobs for the unemployed to work as experts while they retained the best for themselves.

For a poor country, the best of its talents continued to flow out in search of greener pastures through brain drain. Kadari used the example of doctors and he said,

> *... the doctors here are trained in a local environment. In fact they are training others in a rural based in Mbarara University. As soon as they graduate they will leave this country and they will even be more relevant to Kenya than even those who have finished at Makerere. Why, because this doctor can not go naked for the sake, you know, this communist tendency of thinking is very dangerous, for the sake of serving the people of Mbarara or the people of Uganda.They will not do it unless you involve a mechanism of brain retention, they will still continue to be brain drained ... So the economic bearing is very important. And I don't think these doctors trained even in Makerere, trained in Mulago Hospital trained by Africans themselves - they don't go to be trained in European hospitals, they train here* [TE; September 16, 1995].

Economic constraints rooted both in the local and global economic realities have worsened the capabilities of poor countries like Uganda to retain such well paid professionals. It is also true that discriminatory remuneration has left inequalities that do not indicate that all Ugandans are sacrificing equally for the common good of all citizens. As Himbara and Sultan (1995) have noted,

> ... the Ugandan government goes as far as stating that the revenue authority should be given preferential treatment in terms of salary, and should not become part of the regular Ugandan civil service, because the latter is corrupt. In the words of the government, 'Being outside the Civil Service it is possible to remunerate staff sufficiently to both motivate staff and to reduce the danger of corruption (Ibd.). One wonders if the rest of the civil service is not equally important, and equally in need of appropriate remuneration to overcome corruption, and most importantly, in rendering it professional so as to thwart the dependency on donor personnel (pp.90-91).

However, one should not overlook the fact that still there are external underlying influences among the medical professors who imbibed attitudes during their training abroad in UK and other industrialized countries that are reproduced among their products in the medical school. So training at Makerere on a foreign curriculum from UK may yield attitudes similar to those ones who were trained in UK or US. There is a flow of doctors and nurses to the core countries, and of equipment and technology to the periphery states. The adoption without adaptation of medical curricula from core countries further facilitates the recruitment of personnel from poor countries through brain drain. The difference may only be of degree rather than of form. The same case applied to other professions except that school teachers did not have the same demand from the North industrialized countries (Bolaria, 1987; Hountondji, 1990). Mukisa believed that it was

> *the duty of teacher education institutions ... to produce teachers who will intervene in this historical inheritance in terms of our own African traditions and whose colonial heritage have combined to produce such authoritarian tendencies in our education system.* [PM; November 10, 1995].

According to Mukisa, in teacher education institutions, they were

> *... talking about it ...in their courses which they normally term foundations of education and in the case of NTCs in what they call liberal studies. The impact of those teachers of foundations on the methodologies of education and the process of education, the persuasive effect of our general courses on classroom interactions and management interactions are yet to be felt.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

He added

> *... I would register dissatisfaction as to the impact of our teacher training programs on the actual classroom interactions and on the actual management practices of those in education. Until we achieve those two impacts on the system then however much we preach we will not have yet a change in the system we are trying to change. I would encourage those who teach foundations to combine with those who are devising strategies and methods of teaching in order to overcome this problem. It's got to be over all tackled, not piecemeal or confined to some course which is examined, people are awarded marks and that's the end of it* [PM; October 10, 1995].

Mukisa contended that

> *...basing the assessment of students on docile behavior was wrong when looking for active, participatory, self motivated teachers who should be agents outside the teacher training college. The relationship between the teacher educators and the trainees in the colleges must also change. Until that is done it is a self defeating exercise.* [PM; October 10, 1995].

Clearly, there were a combination of factors that shared both internal and external influences which shaped educational institutions through which citizens were socialized.

Teacher education, being one of them, prepared teachers who internalized the attitudes and beliefs which influenced their practices in their teaching. Authoritarian practices seemed to be a common feature both in pedagogical and administrative structures of educational institutions that need to be transformed if such institutions are to play their role effectively.

7.3.1. Authoritarianism: traditional or colonial legacy?

The impact of colonial legacy emerged as a theme from the responses. Mukisa reflected on why undemocratic pedagogical strategies tended to dominate academic life in almost all the institutions of learning:

> *...I don't want to assert that this is a show of power without authority because I may be wrong. ... why is it necessary for our professors to show such power in order to teach? Although that was there in our traditions, and although I accept that it was there in the colonial traditions, I am trying to say that it is exaggerated by us who have inherited these traditions. We have gone beyond.* [PM; November 10, 1995].

Mukisa continued to say that

> *The present generation of professors, of professionals and so on training others is showing much more power, is demanding much more subservience ... than is justified by tradition whether colonial or native. We have exaggerated our inheritance ourselves and I wonder what has made us do this in the present age when we are much more conscious of more democratic approaches to education. ...... why is it that our generation, and I include my self among them, has behaved in this way? I want some researcher to tell me. What are we relying on when we exhibit so much power in our teaching and so little humility?*[PM; November 10, 1995].

Posing rhetoric questions in a humorous manner Mukasa queried:

> *Why is it necessary for a professor in his own field to show this when the very impact of knowledge on a learned man, the fact that he is much aware than anybody else of the limitations of his own knowledge because he will come to know that there are so many things other people know and he knows a small fraction of that, that is enough to humble most of us ... Now why can't we show this in our dealings with our students? Isn't this the thing that we ought to teach? ... when you go to a University what you value most is coming to encounter a real authority in his real field you find a real humble fellow who is communicating in a simple way and he impresses you by what he says in a simple way, in a manner, he is attractive to you because he is saying fundamental things to you without appearing to force them down your throat. This is the man who impresses me in a University. And when you go to a University and you encounter one such a person, that*

> *experience is worth far more than ten authoritarian professors.* [PM; November 10, 1995].

According to Mukisa, the dehumanizing process in the name of teaching relied much more on power than humility. When asked how the classroom could be changed, his response was:

> *you young scholars must answer that one and escape the tyranny we are under [laughter]. ... We are self imposed. We, ourselves are doing it. Nobody is imposing it on us. We can't plead our African traditions, we can't plead colonial heritage, we are free scholars now. Why are we behaving in this manner and are unable to liberate ourselves or liberate the students we teach?* [PM; November 10, 1995].

Mukisa was not fully aware that the repressive technocrat model of teaching was taken for granted as a method of work by many educators without interrogating it (Ngugi, 1987; Nandy, 1983; 1987). The mentality and model of the colonized mind as Fanon (1969) put it operates in such a way that it does not content itself only with imitation, but exaggerates the masters habits. Unfortunately, in most cases, the captive mind in servitude imitates and exaggerates the worst beliefs, attitudes and practices of its mentors (Alatas, 1977; Altbach, 1971).

Contrary to Professor Mukisa's assertion that we are free scholars now, Mpaka, a teacher educator, contended that the inheritors could not do anything but to imitate their masters:

> *If you understand the historical development of the country you will find that they inherited a colonial sort of culture and in so doing they have nothing but to imitate their masters or the directives of their masters. You know colonial education had its own objectives to accomplish or to achieve. And after they went there hasn't been much change in the sense that the inheritors also imitated what was done. They added very little to things which would have made Uganda a nation.*[TE; September 21, 1995].

This view was also reflected in what a government official called the rehabilitation and reconstruction of colonial structures without necessarily changing them:

> *...a revolutionary has got to change the system because the root cause is the system - not the individuals. This is the whole problem - the system has remained intact. ...when we talk about rehabilitation, what are we talking about? ... when you talk of economic recovery, recovery from what, and of what? And obviously it is the recovery of the colonial structures. ...for me that is what I understand because we are not over-hauling them* [PM; November 9, 1995].

According to Chango Machyo (1995),

> the important point to note is that, these SAPs which demand devaluation, liberalism, privatization, divestiture and market economy, are not meant for economic recovery as the claim is usually made. The real aim is to rehabilitate a typical colonial economy and colonial social and political relations, tampered with by a 'bad leadership' and 'mismanagement'.(p.5)

As part of the internal/external forces that inhibit the instrumentality of education in contributing to development Mpaka attributed failure to change the education system tailored to the needs of an independent country to neo-colonialism:

> *... the colonial masters did not stop there. They dictate the terms even if they are away, they dictate terms through grants, through giving expertise advise and employment and they occupy top positions which are of influence.* [TE; September 21, 1995].

He went ahead and said:

> *Ugandans most of them are trained in the mother countries who are the agents of colonialism. ... Uganda is a neo-colonial state and neo-colonialism has two hearts; the other one is the external heart by the colonialist himself and the other one is the very Ugandan to apply neo-colonialism tactics on his fellow Ugandans. So you see that the Ugandan elites have got their own tastes plus they are affected by the system which brought them up. So they don't have much in terms of input to change the system. If they do they have not done so.* [TE; September 21, 1995].

Other respondents did not entirely argue differently. Kamayi felt that there were vested interests on the part of the policy makers and other highly placed officials in the education system which acted as a hindrance to the would-be progressive innovations:

> *There is a lot of self preservation. Most people don't want - when he thinks there is anything threatening his job you are maybe a lecturer in a department and the Dean of the faculty thinks that your ideas are very scaring, he is likely to eliminate you or to suppress you* [TR; Standard High School Open day, 1995].

After a discussion with Ndahiro, I asked him whether he had any questions for me, but he opted to critique the system of management in the educational system, caused in his view, by faulty recruitment mechanisms:

> *same managers overstay in the same positions and stations even when they have been seen not to be change agents, not actually managing properly but because they may represent a system that itself is faulty and maybe they belong to certain individuals within the system who appointed them ...based on I know you, you are my OB, you are my relative, you belong to my religion or something.*[TE; November 6, 1995].

Rather Ndahiro strongly recommended a recruitment review and appraisal system which would not enable "non-performers" to indefinitely stay in positions.

Dialogue with another participant was made particularly more insightful by his Socratic - skeptical questions like this one: "*If I may ask you a question: Is the nation interested in critical thinking?*" Indeed, as Hitler noted, "What good fortune for those in power that people do not think." (Macedo, 1993: 204). However, the doubt and skepticism implied in this question about transformative intellectuals who can problematize situations and analyze them with the aim of providing alternative perspectives to dominant and taken for granted views, is very important. Since a nation is its people, and that decisions are bound to be taken by a few people in responsible positions, we may ask: are the policy makers and those in influential positions interested in critical thinking? Much as it is very difficult to maintain and contain/domesticate a critical and intellectually oriented society because of the crisis of hegemony it creates, the dividends that accrue from it are more beneficial to society than when the populace is passive and docile. As this respondent observed:

> *If a headmaster deliberately keeps teachers divided, it is not likely to pay him. And so you can even put it at national level. ... what we are saying now is that the curriculum has been for a long time conservative, it is not changing, it is not producing a critical thinker, an independent mind. ... that is why earlier on I said whether all these things are deliberately planned or its because they have always been on ...but if I may ask you a question: If our curriculum for teachers is conservative, has stayed on for a long time now who is going to cause a change? This is a big question.*[TE; November 6, 1995].

In an attempt to give an answer to his question, I said that it would require involving teachers in the field in seminars and workshops and then using an orientation that would produce critical thinkers at University so that when new and old teachers meet later, they talk a common language of transformation. In response to my views, he unveiled the potential forces that would be at work thus:

> *I can see that you have serious battles to fight. Because ... let me tell you that these education administrators - these headmasters, DEOs, or Commissioners at the headquarters here have certain personal interests. And I am sure some of them are even able to see that there is need to have these teachers better managed, there is need to have possibly a curriculum changed so that we can have an independent minded teacher but as long as anything that is talked about, any change is brought about is not serving the interests of these officers at their levels, they will make sure that they suppress it and sabotage it. That is why I said that you have battles to fight.*[TE; November 6, 1995].

Ndahiro contended that there was lack of good will from the top administrative cadre for the cultivation of critical thinking among teachers.

> *... a headmaster who is positive would be interested in seminars. He wants you to conduct more. And so is the District Education Officer and so is the Commissioner. But the majority of them are not interested because their positions, their bread, is at stake. They think they are going to be shaken, to be undermined and eventually maybe thrown out of the whole system.* [TE; November 6, 1995].

He went on to say that

> *... when you are trying to organize these teachers, you will meet a lot of response as salaries increase ... they will be able to travel and sponsor themselves for a day ... don't take them far. But I am now looking at you as an individual person who is going to be looked at as antagonistic to the establishment. I am talking about the Ministry of education, I am talking about the Heads of institutions and your colleagues...*[TE; November 6, 1995].

The contribution of the teaching profession to national development was viewed as partly constrained by impeding internal factors rooted in the structures that lead to the helpless, disempowering situation of teachers. Listen to this teacher educator:

> *... a teacher like me now has nothing to do. There is a system that is such that I can not fight even if I wanted to. Those men who have gone through our hands are up there and they are the ones pulling the ropes...deciding which resources go to a rural area which resources remain in the urban center. ...we still have people up there who do not have good qualities that school would have put in them. ... a single person, a single lecturer, ten lecturers in the School of Education are not going to do anything about it. You will speak, you will put your opinion in The Monitor and put it in The New Vision and it will be read and nothing will be said about it. So there is a whole system that we have that is burdening us; we are down there, our voices can not be heard. ... this old man who pays tax all the time and he doesn't get any benefits, he can not ask ...where his tax is going, what has it done for me this year ... he has this kind of questions, even if he brought them forward they would never reach up there. Why, because the power is in the hands of a few people* [TE; September 20, 1995].

Boona's view was that the forces acting upon the system of education were so disproportionately and overwhelmingly powerful that they rendered her powerless and disabled to act on them for the betterment of society.

7.3.2. Aid: As Partnership or "Strings and Ropes"?

Aid is one of the most important components of internal/external forces that continues to play a central role in the development process of the education system of Uganda. This has been manifested in various projects which are externally funded. The inquiry intended to find out from respondents if aid promoted partnership and solidarity or another form of preparing strings and ropes with which to tie its victims. However, to begin with, views of Mukisa, a policy maker were sought to establish who was behind the inception of one of the current projects called TDMS project. The explanation he gave was:

> *Well, the needs of the system were conceived by Ugandans. Many studies were undertaken with the aid and support of USAID and World Bank, what we have termed pre-investment studies. Some Ugandans participated in those pre-investment studies ... So the conception, the expression of needs, the investigation of those needs until they led to the formulation of the project was a Ugandan effort supported from outside. The funding is basically outside with some Ugandan participation. World Bank, USAID plus Ugandan funds are behind this project. And the team that is implementing the project is a combination of some American personnel plus some Ugandans. So, one can say that it is a Ugandan project whose implementation is a joint effort between some outside educators and ourselves.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

When asked if Mukisa found people from outside committed, genuine and sincere joint partners in the development of the education system in Uganda, he responded thus:

> *Every actor has his own orientation when he arrives and even a Ugandan will have certain orientation of his own. My view is that when you recruit such actors and you are in charge of a project, its your job to orient again those persons you brought together to the needs of your project. The difficulty we have had always is to assume that people from outside necessarily know-how to implement the projects we are trying to implement to our needs and therefore don't require guidance and orientation from us. We hire them, we leave them to implement our projects and we don't give sufficient direction to these people and at the end of the day we tend to disown our own project and say this is an American project. Now we the people who identified our needs, we are the people who are borrowing the money, we are the people who will pay back eh, now , we are the people who have hired those people, because before they arrive in our country there must be some process by which we are asked whether we want a certain Mr.A, a certain Miss. B.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

Probed how these experts were normally identified, the explanation was:

> *... they normally send CVs from some place and say this is the person. For instance if you have a USAID project ... USAID will have identified through its own mechanism then they will give you a CV and say this is the man we think will act as an expert in...such a thing. And you the Ugandan are saying, yes that is the man I want. And when you say that you are hiring that man. Because not only are you accepting him on terms of his CV, you are using your money which was made available to you either as a loan or as a grant to you to hire that man.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

Then he said,

> *... what I am quarreling with is the inability of ourselves to direct the work of that man. We should hire people and allow them to be innovators in our country when we know what we are talking about. When we have looked around us and found people within our community who will understand and*

> *talk to this man and call him to account if he is not doing his job or doing it badly. And you know, I don't accept that we do enough of that. And I don't want the easy way out of saying, the project is dominated by Americans, the project is dominated by expatriates, the project has been taken over by the British, where are we?.* [PM; November 10, 1995].

Furthermore, Mukisa saw a Ugandan tendency to focus on controlling *administrative and financial aspects of the projects* rather than the professional implications, meaning that there is a lack of local people "*who are sufficiently informed within the areas of those projects to be able to enter dialogue and daily participation together with the expatriates in the day to day implementation of those projects.*"[PM; November 10, 1995].

Furthermore, Mukisa said that

> *Because if you have hired expatriates at a very high level and there is no Ugandan to whom they can talk on a day to day basis, then they are likely to make the decisions they must make according to the best information available to them and their own frame of mind. Now it is the absence of strong counterparts if you like, and I would go beyond the word counter part, I am talking of participation, I am talking of Ugandans who are self motivated and who are capable of understanding the project we are talking about and therefore can speak at par with an expatriate coming to help us.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

He challenged the normative view that

> *... you will say that the reason why you hire an expatriate is because you don't have a Ugandan. Now I want to tell you that I don't believe you entirely. I think there are Ugandans who may not be as steeped in the day to day implementation of a particular project and where additional expertise from outside is required. But that is not to say that there is no Ugandan capable of understanding and learning to do what the expatriate will do within a short time of the arrival of that man and grow into becoming a real partner to the expatriate in the implementation of the project. We don't do enough of identifying such professionals and allowing them to live as professionals in order to ensure that our project is implemented with the best interest of Uganda in mind.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

The view that Ugandan counterparts working on projects with expatriates need to be "strong" is an important one. Nevertheless, it should not be taken for granted since "strength" could be a brain child of the modernization beliefs and attitudes, values in the process of project implementation. The question that can be asked is: "strong" under what orientations in relation to Uganda's interests? A Ugandan may not be different from an expatriate counterpart in terms of promoting the theories and practices of modernization which would still marginalize the interests of the majority poor. It should also be added that expatriates should not be lumped together as if they were a monolithic category in their paradigmatic orientations. Some, albeit, a small number have committed their lives struggling with the poor majority people of South nations both in theory and practice, (George, 1987; Payer, 1987; Toh and Cawagas, 1992; Samoff, 1996; Chomsky, 1994; Toh, 1996) by expressing their compassion and solidarity. It is therefore possible that some Ugandans may be more of a burden to development aid than expatriates, or both of them.

Obedi, another bureaucrat shared his views, experiences and beliefs on the extent to which he considered foreign aid helpful in the development process of education and other areas in general and he responded as follows:

> *I think they are helpful except one thing I don't like is when they come with certain ideas and in spite of being told that the things could be done differently they insist. I mean this is aid with strings. ... There was a time some donors ... came here and said they wanted us to write some books in English, Mathematics, Social Studies and Science. ... we said but we have just written books in those subjects. We don't have to re-write them because as far as we are concerned once a book is written it should go in the classroom, tried and if people find it inadequate they will give us a feed back and we will revisit it. But you do not simply throw it out like that. And these people were saying, "No. No. No but we want you to write". We refused and said if you have money for us, why don't we instead of writing books for the subjects we have already written for, why don't we write books for subjects which we have not written for - like agriculture which is as important as English for this country? They said no no no. We came with the express purpose of having books written in these four subjects. But we said they are already there. And eventually we refused the money.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

He elaborated that

> *... if we had written 20 years before or 10 years before, people might say well but you need to up-date them. But we had just produced them in their first year. ... and the money was not given. But what we are saying is that these aids are very good. I mean it is very helpful to be helped and to be given money and so on. I only wish that our donors could be good enough and say well, what do you really want. ... But the donors have been very helpful. We would not have done half of what we have done without their money. But I only wish they could bend their conditions sometimes and let us give them what we think is relevant and our real immediate needs, felt needs. They shouldn't sit in Washington or wherever, or in Paris and say I think Uganda needs this...*[PM; November 10, 1995].

He concluded his narrative noting that

> *I think it is true sometimes we have failed to identify our felt needs and therefore we have helped the donors to exploit us. But at the same time the donors have sometimes insisted on their preconceived agenda. And beggars can't be choosers.*[PM; November 10, 1995].

From Obedi's views, there is patronage and manipulation that is inherent in some aid packages in the form of undemocratic and dictated conditions which have little consideration for the needs and participation of the recipient. The position of the recipient is marginalized and one would question the role such aid would play as far as fostering partnership and solidarity is concerned (Toh, 1996). The conditions of pegging "aid" on writing books for subjects for which books had been already written compare with what happened in 1962 when Uganda gained her political independence. Ugandans were called upon to pay a token of gratitude in the form of pensions of their colonial occupiers. To obtain the foreign exchange for the pensions of departing European administrators, Uganda had to borrow US $ 7.5 million from Great Britain in 1962-3 (Jorgensen, 1981). It is hardly believable that this was a felt need for a newly politically decolonized poor nation. Who was giving aid to the other, Britain or the poor country Uganda? Isn't this what Willy Brandt (1986) called "a blood transfusion from the hick to the healthy" (p.134).

Dombo, another policy maker, held this view:

> *Whatever assistance given should be appreciated. We have been fortunate to get loans to construct schools and other loans to develop education. The problem has been ourselves who do not set clearly the objectives. Otherwise the donations are good.*[PM; October 12, 1995].

Another view which Dombo held was that "*if we make our policies clear, IMF and World Bank are willing to listen*" also sounded illusive (Samoff, 1996; 1992). According to Dombo, there is no bad aid and therefore whatever is given in whatever spirit should be received with thankful hands. Aid for him is just "neutral" and "value-free" and it contributes to the development of Uganda's education system. He takes it extremely for granted without regard for the dependence it creates, the cultural imperialism and domination for which it paves the way and the patronage that come with its package (Arnove, 1980; 1996; Berman, 1979; Bray, 1984) Dombo's views also could amount to insensitivity to the existence of an authoritarian paradigmatic orientation whereby the North has physically crossed the North-South boundaries "but mentally, effectively, and spiritually there has been no crossing" (Toh, 1996). However, a teacher educator, Mpaka, believed that

> *Economically Uganda's activities have been directed by forcing it to follow the directives of the West. ... the IMF gives money with strings and government has to follow certain developmental directions. ... the present governments re-structuring of the economy is actually a directive from the colonial nations* [TE; October 10, 1995].

Another government official, narrated his experience with foreign donors thus:

> *... when I was appointed a minister ... I didn't know even what these things called lose minutes mean. Now the PS comes and says "Sir, this agreement has been here for six months and the contractors are impatient". ... when I read through the agreement, the first thing which I came across which I objected was the importation of Passard cars, these Volks Wagon cars. I called her and said these are not construction vehicles and this is a construction work. It has something to do with water mains. This one I can't accept. You have to change it to vehicles which are for construction work.*[PM; November 9, 1995].

He went on narrating:

> *... then I came across the experts whom they wanted to bring. ... two solid waste experts. Those are fellows who deal with the collection of garbage and disposal and so forth. Then their salary was 4500 dollars per month at that time in 1986. The next group was plumber mechanics,... the ones we are training at Kyambogo. I called the PS and said, ... these solid waste experts who are they? ... we have got young civil engineers, can't we send then instead of these people staying here for two years, can't we use that money to send our young engineers to countries where these problems are and they learn and they come so that we have our own solid experts. Don't you see that this salary is too big not even a president gets it? Three, these plumber mechanics, what about the people we train at Kyambogo? I asked her that but who wrote this agreement? She said, "Ourselves." 'Kuumbe' she was telling me a lie. ... I am not going to sign this agreement. You take it back. It was an agreement with RX, this German Corporation.* [PM; November 9, 1995].

His views implied that if the agreement was not brought to the ministry already made merely seeking passive official endorsement, the input in terms of participation of the Ugandan counterparts in making it must have been minimal. He went on to explain:

> *... So, I understand when they went to RX, RX said, NO, we can't change anything if the minister doesn't want to sign, let the thing go back to World Bank. So, what I did was to call the World Bank Director. ... I told him I was not going to sign the agreement because ... it was not in our favor. ... he said he was going to Washington, he would take it with him. he actually took the agreement with him. ... I don't know how the matters reached the Prime Minister's office then. So they wrote me a letter saying I was ideological, I was against Western aid...*[PM; November 9, 1995].

From the foregoing narrative, external forces in shaping the development agenda of Uganda reflect dependence on foreign dictates.

However, the story I had read and which intrigued me to ask about the contract was in a paper written by Chango Macho (1995: 2) carrying the sub-heading "political values and ideology":

> ... when I was Minister of Water and Mineral Development, I refused to sign a contract with a European Company. My reason was that the terms to

> be agreed were to Uganda's disadvantage. Eventually the draft agreement was sent to the World Bank for the revision of terms. But while it was there I got a letter from the Prime Minister 's office blaming me for refusing to sign the agreement and therefore accusing me of being 'ideological' and against 'Western Aid'. My reply was that the author was also being ideological. But the point is, this is an example of people who think it is their opponents who are ideological because they are leftists, but they as rightists are not. One day a Makerere lecturer in literature wondered whether the literature he was teaching his students was ideological. ... such teachers believe that what is taught at foreign universities where they go for further degrees is ideologically neutral. (p.2).

The statement from the office of the Prime Minister is indeed ideological, contesting Chango Macho's ideological position by (mis)using political position but guided by ideological orientation to 'discipline' and bring Chango Machyo in line, consistently in the service of foreign interest. The Prime Minister's ideological position was advantaged by legal sanction, the weight of law - as an added advantage he had over and above the minister he was reprimanding - not that he was acting in a more patriotic and nationalistic people-centered manner. The Prime Minister's position was welded to a certain consciousness that did not allow him to break with the configuration of the regime of truth that "consists of a totality of [his] world outlook." The Minister was reprimanded by the Prime Minister much as the Headmaster reprimands an 'ideological' teacher or student; and as a teacher may do the same to a vocal and intellectually curious student thereby "moronizing" and "domesticating" instead of "liberating" him/her. However, it is of interest to note that both Chango Macho and his "boss" should be products of the same school system yet did not have the same paradigmatic orientation (Chango Machyo, 1995; Macedo, 1993; Baran, 1968; Freire, 1970).

Nonetheless, aid, from the foregoing, is a complex issue and basically problematic. The reason for this is that aid in itself is multifaceted in nature and takes different forms with many different actors, interests, values, beliefs, attitudes and orientations. In each case therefore, it would be judged specifically according to its merit although the assumptions, motives and paradigmatic orientations underpinning it is paramout. Is the intent of aid to build hope and self-determination in the education system rather than increase dependence? Is it perennial or a temporary measure to avert a crisis or emergency? Is it targeted at the people who need it most or is it for enhancing the privilege of the already privileged and the schools their children attend?

7.4. Unity and national integration

National unity and integration is one of the themes that emerged from the narratives of the participants. They were further put into the following sub-themes: intellectual community and its contribution to national integration; sectarianism and ethnicity; and the role of language in national unity and development.

7.4.1. Intellectual community

Considering the importance an intellectual community plays in problematizing issues and search for their clarification for the health and development of any society, participants were asked to comment on the state of the intellectual community in Uganda. Dunggu, a policy maker, submitted the following view:

> *The intellectual dynamism in this country has since become quite minimal if not dead. ... I think our history, our immediate past [knocking on the table for emphasis] that is another question. We would ask ourselves whether we are as Ugandans inherently incapable of being good professors, good teachers, incapable of looking at issues critically or whether our immediate past has frustrated us, has sort of suppressed us in such a way that we have not been able, that thinking was a luxury, that to become academic was a luxury. ... That is another thing we may have to look at critically.* [TE; November 6, 1995].

The view held by Ndahiro was that intellectualism has undergone senile decay over time in the country. This is supported by the views of a teacher educator from the school of education as he lamented that intellectual zeal was at its lowest ebb, yet promotion remained pegged on academic publication:

> *For one to be promoted ... they consider much scholarly contributions and forget the day to day contributions teachers are involved in. You have got to write at least more than three publications internationally renown. But Uganda and the poverty it is in and the economic recession or inflationary situation it has faced ever since the '60s or the '70s, you find that people are just surviving and the rate of creativity is reduced and therefore writing or creativity is also reduced. ... Local publishers are not ... internationally recognized.*[TE; September 21, 1995].

According to Mpaka, a teacher educator, external forces play a key role in determining who should be promoted in the School of Education at Makerere University. What is not known is whether the relevance of the work to the needs of the country was normally considered as one of the fundamental factors to consider in such works when seeking promotion as Dunggu, a policy maker, pointed out:

> *... we don't have a committed intellectual group which is there to analyze the problems of Uganda and be able to foretell and guide government. Some people have tried to come up but I think that most people I have seem are more money - driven than real concern for the social political economic position of their people. Most people have gone into research because they are being funded from outside, not because somebody is committed. ... somebody should be reasonably annoyed about a bad situation in order to overcome it and try to contribute towards fighting that situation. I think our intellectuals are not annoyed. They are plain swimmers, opportunists when they see an NGO with money they will concoct a research in that direction whether it is irrelevant - that is why research has not been used to transform the community. Most research is more internationally-oriented, so it is not about Uganda. So I think if we could make it more relevant, but you see that takes more time to transform that intellectual to be a lover of his own people rather than an exploiter of his own people* [PM; October 3, 1995].

The view held by Dunggu was that the external component in research funding undermined, rather than enhanced, the cultivation and growth of a community of committed intellectuals concerned with relevant research to meet the needs of the country. The intellectuals available on the market are those who are engaged in mining information from the people and exporting it abroad for cash (Altbach, 1971; Berman, 1979; Arnove, 1980). The view expressed above is further reflected in the objectives of the Center for Basic Research (CBR) which is a non-profit educational trust established to:

> (a) carry out research on social issues of fundamental significance (b) to bring together in a common endeavor researchers from various sectors of Ugandan society, and (c) *reverse the current trend whereby most Ugandan researchers are turning to paid consultancies, whereas research is turning into a non-national function.*[emphasis mine] (cited from the back cover of, CBR publication No.5, 1989).

In a similar tone in regard to the would-be people acting in capacities that take decisions of paramount importance to the nation, a policy maker in the Ministry of education observed that some national issues were not accorded the serious attention they deserved:

> *If you have had time to see how or to get access to Hansard I think you would be interested to find out how much was this white paper discussed. I had a friend in NRC who come to say a night before, "what is it about because I must understand it tomorrow we are discussing it, what is it? That type of person her contribution must have been minor. But how many views and ideas came? Everybody said, "ah this education, let us pass it". Now people even were asking, "was it passed was it discussed?" Why is it that they spend money discussing the presidential bill for three, four, five days and everybody is excited and the White Paper was discussed in a rush.?* [PM; November 10, 1995].

Lack of seriousness and sensitivity in discussing and dealing with national issues was raised as a problem undermining development. To this respondent, the Education Bill was "grasshopped-over" without doing due justice to it considering the way it was discussed in a rush. It was her contention that education matters were not taken seriously by parliamentarians as they would take days debating other issues that may not warrant all the time they normally dedicate to them. Mpaka, a teacher educator also observed that

> *... ignorance on the part of the developers or policy makers thus they undervalue the role of education and pay attention to other areas of their concern since they are the politicians* [TE; September 21, 1995].

Younger (1980) made the following analysis and it corresponds well with what was raised by Mulindwa on the Education Bill and also ties well with Mpaka's view that:

> ... to make the laws we elect representatives, through whom we govern ourselves. [Representatives] ... have been heard to admit that much of the time they do not know what it is they are voting on ... Their vote on many bills, then, is at the direction of someone else, be he party leader, lobbyist or trusted colleague; and that is not representative democracy (p.48).

In other words such a person to whom people have delegated power to vote on their behalf may know little of the content of the bill. Simultaneously, some intellectuals can be motivated more by personal self-interest rather than concern for the well being of people in society. This also tends to be reflected in the kind of research such intellectuals wish to carry out for external funders with no regard for national development. Their thrust and orientation tend to subscribe to the modernization paradigm of development.

Alatas (1977) has identified two essential requisites for the development of nationhood through national integration based on a functional intellectual community:

> One ... the effective leadership of a functioning intellectual group in the domain of thought. The other is the receptivity of the public to an ever increasing standard of thinking, so that they become more selective in their choice of ideas and leadership in all fields. The public demand for a higher intellectual consciousness has to be encouraged by the intellectuals themselves. If this does not happen the tendency to devaluate intellectuals will continue to flourish at the expense of the public. When the intellectuals go down the fools go up. There has never been any instance in history where the fools have succeeded in solving national problems. The concept of a fool is relative in degree as the concept of the intellectual. It is relative to the task. A minister may not be a fool as a head of a family, but he may be one as head of his ministry. The fools, like the intellectuals, can also constitute an influential group. If they control the nerve centres of our social and political order, it will take a long time to replace them because their tendency to breed is stronger than what the intellectual can compete

> with, as the conditions required for their breeding is readily available and easily accomplished (p.2-3).

What Alatas (1977) implies is that the country could be lacking economic justice, social justice, judicial justice, but there may also be a serious lack of intellectual justice. Are the national problems in Uganda being tackled with intellectual justice instead of exploitative ignorance? In which way are teacher education institutions equipping teachers with skills to meet that challenge of preparing a future adult citizen imbued with intellectual justice, patriotism and compassion for his/her society? This calls for a type of teacher from the grassroots to the highest level of learning who is an organic intellectual (Kozol, 1982).

7.4.2. Sectarianism and ethnicity

One of the problems that were identified as a hindrance to national unity in Uganda is sectarianism based on issues like ethnicity or tribalism, religion, gender, elitism, and others. This could be manifested in various daily realities both in institutions like schools and in the wider society. Mpurikize was asked on what basis the interaction of teachers in the staff room: He responded as follows:

> *People have tended to generally sit in groups because of personal relationships rather than departmental affiliations or intellectual linkages. ... The group in which I sit, there are five of us, one is a Chemistry teacher, I am History, another one is English, another one is Commerce and Accounts, and another one is Mathematics. There is actually nothing that binds us intellectually together. But we happen to be so close, so friendly and we have been like that for years.*[TR; September 16, 1995].

Asked what made him so close to the teachers he had mentioned, he replied:

> *... basically I think social affiliation because most of us did not know each other. So I don't know how we came to be like that. ... Well, we happen to come basically from the same area but then ethnic distribution at the school has rather been - what can we call it, unequal. I don't think there has been a very conscious effort on the part of the Headmaster to balance ethnicity of the members of staff. So I think there appeared to have been dominant groups, for example the Bantu group is more dominant than the Luo group. ... Personally I cannot call it tribalism but I don't know how it came to be. Because as I went into the school myself I didn't go there because of any affiliation I had with the administration.*[TR; September 16, 1995].

When he was further probed that possibly he could have also got to know about the vacant position in the school from someone who came from the same area with him, his response was:

> *... it is a very important point that since recruitment has been personalized by the Headmaster, therefore, he will choose. But I can not really answer that for him. ... There is a feeling among certain categories of staff that actually the Head master is tribalistic. That one is definitely there by, particularly, groups other than his own ethnic group....I was really surprised. ... that people thought that I was his friend because I happened to be coming from the same ethnic group with the Headmaster. There is that feeling, definitely it is there within the school and if statistics were to be taken I don't think that the headmaster would easily defend himself.*[TR; September 16, 1995].

Teachers in a focus group from a different school were asked in which way they considered the school administration was relating to the rest of the staff with fairness and impartiality. One teacher implied that unequal treatment was normal in such a setting:

> *That is normal even your father cannot provide the same love for all his children. So even in school or in any institution or organization you find you cannot get the same favor from the boss or you cannot have all people in the same area as your friends.*[TR; August 24, 1995].

In other words, for this teacher, inequalities based on favoritism were a normal development in organizations, be it a family or a school setting.

Views were solicited to establish how schools were reducing or promoting "tribalism" among students and Bwenge, a teacher participant said:

> *I think we are promoting it because those who have wealth are the ones who are able to educate their children because education has become expensive for the parent. So the regions which are not privileged will not educate their children. So I think education somehow is promoting tribalism* [TR; August 5, 1995].

But Kintu had a different view that:

> *As far as I think, it is true those who have wealth are the ones who can take their children to good schools for example good schools that are urban, I can see that they are schools which can bring children of diverse tribes. So when students come and study together and so forth they happen to interact, as far as I can see, that tribalism dwindles because they get friends, they go together, everything they do it together. So I see no reason why they should start hating each other when they have gone through the same institution* [TR; August 5, 1995].

The argument that schools do not enhance tribalism but if anything mitigate it when students from different tribes attend the same institution, has been one of the justifications to maintain boarding schools in the country. But this also can be challenged by the trend of events in the country for the last three decades. One question that comes to mind is why most of the conflicts that have ravaged the country in the name of tribalism been championed by school products who attended the best boarding schools in Uganda and beyond? Bwengye narrated that

> *I would like to give my experience. For me I was at Makobore High School, in Rukungiri, and there when we talked of tribalism it was in the early '80s when we would say these people who are coming from the north eat people. Now for A'Level I came to St. Mary's Kisubi. To my surprise, my best friend was from West Nile. And the people I came with from Kigezi somehow became my enemies. So I think If the government or the ministry of education can encourage students to put their choices in other regions, I think it would solve that problem of sectarianism and tribalism. Otherwise if you remain in your locality, you study from Mbarara, you go to Mbarara University, I think you become a bad Ugandan.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

Is it not possible for people to learn that people from the north do not eat people without going to study in the north? Must the whole nation get on the move to study in different parts of the country or something else could be done, cheaply and even produce better results in promoting nationalistic sentiments than it has been the case previously?

In the face of growing cuts on education funding both by parents who are becoming poorer and are constantly re-allocating scarce resources in the home because of competing priorities, poverty and diminished faith in the redemption education holds for many and the government - how can national awareness be promoted among Ugandans without moving people or students from far away places to other parts of the country? This would call for new approaches in pedagogy that promote national identity by encouraging teachers and students to act "glocally" and by promoting an education that is based on beliefs and practices that are oriented to national integration (Puranik, 1978). One does not need first to travel abroad in order to appreciate other people as human beings who need respect, love, justice and protection of their human rights.

Studying from another region may not destroy wrong sentiments held against other people unless the curriculum and the approaches used in teaching are oriented to nurturing the spirit of national integration. One may go to another part of the country as any tourist on adventure and come back despising those people more than ever before - like the missionaries who wrote about the primitive native or African they encountered or "discovered" (Toh, 1993; Brantringer, 1985). But one may also reach a place and discover that after all they are good hearted people, hospitable, etc. For instance, the view held that the Europeans "saved" Africa of a type of cannibalism that was unheard of in the metropole is questionable. Otherwise the word would not have existed in the English language before the "discovery" of Africa by Europeans. There is no race that can claim to have no trace of a culture of cannibalism. Similarly, there is no race that has a monopoly of such tendencies of violence, only that other races have a monopoly of the use of civilized instruments of violence through the monopoly of technology. The high-tech Gulf War is a vivid example of yet how advanced industrial cultures readily wage war in ways that reflect barbarism and some degree of racism.

Kalema contributed this view:

> *The schools were set up on denominational lines. Some were Protestant others were catholic others were Moslem. So that is also a sense of injustice that was done. Such that the way the students are brought up in some schools, although it has changed now, there is a particular thinking that a person from this school is supposed to belong to Democratic Party (DP) such that although it is fading it is still there.*[TR; August 4, 1995].

Asked whether they believed such parochial tendencies still enjoyed room in the school system, Kalema responded that:

> *The school system is not in support of such but students from a place like Arua because of the competitive nature of the system, students could no longer get the grades that can make them compete to enter these old schools. For example, a person from Kigezi will remain there. Then even when it comes to O'Level a person from Kapichorwa can not get the required aggregates for these schools. So, what I can see is that elitism is going to remain. The schools in Kampala or the good schools are going to be dominated by the people around Kampala surroundings and then those students are going to remain there. So, the impact will be that education will be now for elites only. For example it is believed that, although I have no concrete data, 60% who are admitted to Makerere are from the best schools around. So that is a bad precedent in relation to the globe, national aim of education. The fact that the students who go to Makerere come from very few schools then also creates a sense of imbalance that is unwanted and that will also create that class of the elites which will be a permanent feature in the Ugandan society, especially given the in-take, the cut-off points and what not. It is only very few students who can make it from these urban schools. So it is going to make the rural poor affected throughout* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Clearly, divisions based on rural and urban schools have helped to reproduce inequalities evident in admissions at the university level which is a monopoly of the 'tribe' of urban elites. According to Magezi, it was no longer tribalism but elitism based on economic realities facing the country:

> *I think the ethnic composition of the students in these good schools is not attributed to tribalism as such but to the economy. For example somebody is in a rural area, she could be a good student but because her parents cannot afford to send her to a good school she can't come to Ndoona as such, so it has nothing to do with tribalism or to the tribal feelings of Heads of institutions as such but to the poor economic status of the parents* [TR; August 4, 1995].

The geographical development of schools in the colonial/missionary era concentrated modernization in one region and this tilted social, political and ecoomic balance in favor of the tribes that were located in such areas as Buganda. One cannot totally ignore the fact that one region, and even one tribe, can be put at an advantage in relation to other regions or tribes. The view that urban areas are inhabited by people of various ethnic origins should not overlook the fact that ethnic numbers are not representative in those urban areas. Balita held the view that

> *The school curriculum is very clear. It has no inclination to tribalism. The problem is that the children who will be future leaders are in better schools compared to someone in the other one. So that is already a set culture. Those who are leading were once in good schools - not in bad schools. ... after a period of years you are an OB of the school and in that sense you are not going to break that tradition the moment you are in power. You will be looking at this school* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Indeed it is through some old boys or old girls clubs that it has been possible for some parents in similar circles to penetrate and obtain places for their children in some elitist schools. As one Ministry official noted, some old boys and old girls of particular schools use their clout to reject or impose demands on the qualifications of teachers that will teach in their former schools. Musoke held the belief that

> *... tribalism is an extension of a family, a clan or a tribe. So people feel proud of their tribes and feel like belonging to them. But the problem is that now we have a conflict between tribalism and nationalism, that is Ugandan nationalism. Because even in America, Italians have their own things, French have their own things. ... Now politicians accuse us that we are not nationalistic, you are not a Ugandan nationalist but one reason why many people are not is the fault of the politicians themselves. Because if you want to make me a Ugandan nationalist you must make it appear so well that it is in my interest to be a Uganda nationalist. I might get something out of it because, if a man now looks okay there is this nation called Uganda if what I gain is negative, I may not feel like belonging to it. It is up to the politicians to see that we have Uganda, there is Ugandan nationalism and these are the positive advantages you get by being a Ugandan other than a Muganda. Unless you have something to show - this is what you get by being a Ugandan a, b,c advantages rather than preaching. You won't attract him by preaching "you be a Ugandan, be a Ugandan, when a man asks what do I gain?* [TR; August 4, 1995].

According to Musoke, "preaching" is not an effective instrument for building nationalism. Teachers were also asked why they were inclined to think that schools reproduce sentiments of disunity instead of encouraging people to look at themselves as Ugandans. One teacher responded thus:

> *When you are a History teacher and a Muganda, you may be tempted to glorify the Baganda. Some teachers go to the extent of saying that they removed B and it became Uganda. So that instills a sense of superiority*

> *among the Baganda against other tribes. When it comes to another person who hates the Baganda then he would say that they betrayed the cause and instead of resisting with Bunyoro they were used by the British. That issue of tribalism comes in from there and them. ... Most of these books were written by the Europeans and they just glorify the Baganda because the Baganda gave them sanctuary, they collaborated. ... Mwanga did not collaborate, in history he was given a very poor image - very uncouth, barbaric, homosexual, etc. But now you see how they praise Sir Apollo Kagwa. He was a Katikiro and a Christian. They say he was intelligent , forward looking, civilized, everything - so those were the writers, the Europeans. Whoever collaborated they praised, whoever did not - look at Kabalega - very brutal, very backward, [all teachers laugh] look at it, stupid, so that is how they wrote those books.* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Another voice echoed a similar doubt about education in as far as contributing to national unity as follows:

> *... to a great extent it does not because of the history of education in Uganda. First of all it was based on religion. So there were schools supposed to be strictly for Moslems and those for Protestants. ... you can not have national unity when some of us know there was the Namirembe battle of 1892 which led to other problems which have prevailed up to today.*[TR; August 24, 1995].

Kirundi went on to say that

> *... the nature of education, some of these people who become educated live in places where they have lost contact with their relatives at home ... Because most of these people with their white collar jobs want either to live in towns or if you were a teacher in a secondary school you will be in a secondary school like Ntare and if there are problems at home or if people, there is work or anything requiring group work you will not help.*[TR; August 24, 1995].

He contended that

> *... even we people who have been in schools are divided depending on our professions. Because you find there is discrepancy between those who have done agriculture or Veterinary medicine or Engineering. One after qualifying, before he has even gone to the field, the government gives him a vehicle and the other person who is coming to write on the blackboard might spend 20 years even get pension without driving. And then because of that gap you can not sit together and discuss issues which ... lead to national development. Because someone who is always in a suit or in towns or these big hotels will not have to sit with a person working in a remote place like this one.* [TR; August 24, 1995].

Effort was made to find out from the focus group why as teachers they persisted in teaching things which, according to them, were not responding to the desired national unity and national integration. The response was: "*These days, it is basically for passing exams.*"

One administrator also pointed out that in one teacher education institution students were inclined to their ethnic organizations more than identifying themselves as teachers groups:

> *... the type of training these teachers get here might not be preparing them for national unity at national level. Because these teachers here emphasize what I would call tribal groups - AKTESA students from Kabale, Kisoro, Rukungiri, Bushenyi, Mbarara. AKTESA actually is ... a group of the former Ankole and Kigezi Districts. Ankole Kigezi Teachers Students Association. People from Teso, people from, people from Busoga, Buganda - now when they are here even in Makerere they have meetings they discuss a lot of stuff to do with those local issues. Now they hardly sit here and say graduate teachers you are now going out as graduate teachers, we are now going to join our fellows there what are we going with, how can we keep in touch - ourselves and those others. So in other words when they are here they are more concerned with unity of the local areas where they come from.* [TE; November , 1995].

The views expressed in the narratives revealed overwhelmingly that the present processes of teaching and learning do not facilitate students in developing a sense of cultural and national identity - a feeling of belonging to a society that transcends clan, tribe and ethnic origins. To what extent do teacher education institutions prepare teachers who can assist their students to work effectively in groups using some of the strategies involved in cooperative learning to help them develop greater respect for one another's point of view, assume responsibility for their share of a task, and become familiar with peaceful means of conflict resolution? From a point of view of social cohesion, social stability and even development, this would be a significant endeavor worth pursuing.

7.4.3. Language and national integration

Views were solicited from teachers, policy makers, and other educationists who either were directly participating in this study or were attending a conference. Since they were publicly declaring their views I took the opportunity to tap these views which emerged spontaneously without the obtrusiveness that an interview would impose on an individual. The issue of language is contentious and highly contested in the education system of Uganda. Ruyonga advanced the argument that:

> *Earlierlong when education was affordable by many people and education was organized a little better than it is now and teachers could be posted wherever their services were needed not posted where they want as the case is today, I think tribalism was being fought seriously. Because you would find students say from Kabale going to Moroto and studing from there. Somebody from Kampala here could go to Arua and study from there. But*

> *when you take statistics now I am sure you will find no westerner studying from Arua now, or Lango or Acholi. So I really believe that thing of the one who has should pay and get the education has caused this imbalance and it really creates a lot of tribalism. Like now, we are now speaking vernacular. We are seriously fighting it but I remember when I was at school and we had diverse tribes there was no need of saying don't speak vernacular. You had a Langi here you had an Acholi there.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

When teachers were asked to comment on the position of indigenous languages in the school setting, they said, "*Luganda is not encouraged. In fact the students are punished when they speak Luganda.*" Asked why it was discouraged, another teacher said, "*It is the administration.*" and yet another teacher interjected with a different view that since " *... exams are set in English, in order for the students to pass the examinations they have to practice English.*" Musoke commented that:

> *Because at this formative stage you need to start thinking early in English and the best way to do it is to make it their working language so that they think in it so that instead of thinking in Luganda and translate in English that is dangerous* [TR; August 4, 1995].

In addition, another teacher said that:

> *I would agree that in the lower primary in most parts of the country they use different languages especially in the lower classes. Each area uses its own language and when it comes to national levels they set these exams in English. So you find that it is a problem to these rural schools. They fail because of this component of English. Most of them are taught in Luganda or Rukiga or other vernaculars when it comes to other things. When they go home they speak their mother tongues, but when it comes to P.L.E. then they set in English. Even the teachers in those areas may not be comfortable with English. The English they know they try to translate things into their vernacular for their students to understand. When it comes to these national exams, then it brings the variations in grades, not because these teachers don't know how to teach but the component of English and the practice of English at home.* [TR; August 4, 1995].

An adult educator who participated in a conference on "Education for All" made the following observation:

> *... I think it is a very big issue apparently, a number of educationists are deliberately discouraging the importance placed on English. I think many of us feel that it is alienating our cultures and so on and I think I at times feel that there is a deliberate effort to play down the role of English in our education system. And yet, and yet we use English all through. English is the official language, and not only official language it is the language in most places where we go for services - hospitals, whatever it is. It is English, English , English. ... I don't know whether my observation*

> *corresponds to the reality and this of course is stronger in certain places, parts of the country than others ... I don't know whether it doesn't very much affect the total quality of education because this is the tool you use and if that tool is not properly acquired, you know, the medium, if that medium is still weak I don't see how we can actually talk of the quality of education without rectifying that anomaly. I don't know.*[Conference Participant; November 15, 1995].

According to this educationist, English has not been privileged enough in terms of attention and this is affecting the total quality of education. In appreciation for this self-castigation that the standard of the Queen's language is falling, the British expatriate commented that:

> *As an expatriate it is always a little bit of a problem to advocate English because some people say yes you advocate because it is your language. But Makerere employs me to advocate it. This is my job and that is the job I have been doing for the past few years. One thing I will say very strongly and I will take an example from South Africa of this one. The ANC in South Africa always campaigns for the use of English in schools because they said the use of other languages was ghettoizing and marginalizing their children. And what we see in Uganda is that the poor parents are being ghettoized and marginalized in the schools because English is not used from P.1 their children because English is not being used from P1. And the wealthy parents are all opting out from that. Now if you wish to ghettoize and marginalize your children you know what to do. I mean if you have the money you make the choice* [Conference Participant; November 15, 1995].

The poor were exposed to poorer and irrelevant education because they studied in local languages. In other words, their poverty could be partly traced in the local languages. To the expatriate, English enables the poor to leave the ghettoes and its marginalization and lead the promised modern life.

A Minister similarly observed that students of Muduma who participated in science demonstrations were doing a lot better in their local language. But whenever they switched to English, their speed would slow down and they could not express themselves. He, therefore, concluded that it was because they were mostly speaking their local language which deprived them of the opportunity to use English. He went on to infer that it explained why schools in rural areas were not doing well in national examinations. But one female participant offered the following dissenting view from that of the expatriate and which also informs the views advanced by the minister that

> *...this allegation that we are ghettoizing education, that we are speaking the mother tongue. ... I think a mother tongue taught properly can provide the basic literacy that you need to build on to expedite the teaching of a second language as English. I would like - please hands up people who started English in P.3.[almost all participants] Aright. Some of these people are the most proficient speakers and writers of the English language. If the mother*

> *tongues are taught properly they will be tools they will be positive tools in teaching. What is actually happening is that English is not being taught properly. ... there are no reading books in the primary, in the secondary and university. And the other problem ... is the examining. ... I am glad that examination is gradually going to where it used to be where children can express themselves in full sentences, where they are going back to writing at least one paragraph compositions and where they are becoming a little bit literate. .... starting with this year onwards, books are starting to go down to the schools, textbooks in English. Starting with next year, World Bank funding, readers are going to be provided* [Conference Participant; November 15, 1995].

According to her, local languages are a scapegoat for those who do not want to see them survive. Similarly, modernization blames traditional/cultural practices as responsible for underdevelopment. Otherwise they are not responsible for the poor standards of English. If anything, teaching local languages well facilitates learning English. The problems of English therefore should be traced elsewhere. The Minister of State for Education had this to say on the language issue:

> *Language: our constitution says we should teach our own languages .. our languages in our local areas must be promoted. Obviously in certain cosmopolitan areas this might not be able to be done. Because when you talk about a place like Nakaseero Primary School where you have all the tribes of Uganda, the question would be: what language do you teach? [Luganda, participants murmured]. ... In a place like Mpigi in my place, it's straight forward, you teach the local language. In a place like Nakaseero, like Buganda Road, like Rohana, Kampala Parents what language do you teach? [Luganda, the audience still pointed out] So [on a high note] I think what eventually we might - we might have to do is to look at different statistics of different areas, look for what I called belief values. These would be special cases and the special cases might have to be treated especially. And we must be very careful with this language business also. Tanzania tried to emphasize Swahili they now have to get English teachers from Uganda. We must be very careful. But I think the policy would be to teach mother tongue. I think the other language they had brought about was Swahili. I don't know if it will be a subject. I don't know how it will be done. But that is also there. In our constitution they have said you can develop any language, English being the official language, develop local languages and any other language* [Hon. F. Babu, Minister of State for Education; November 16, 1995].

Why is the attitude of this official not only ambivalent but negative towards Kiswahili? As is noted in the Government White Paper, (1992):

> conflicting aims and the prejudices resulting from deficient views and outlooks to life as well as narrow selfish interests, have made it difficult for the country to develop a common national language for Uganda. This has been one of the most fundamental causes of social conflicts and economic backwardness (p.15).

It is evident from the foregoing, that the chief custodian of government policy in the Ministry of Education and Sports is either not aware of what the policy document, the Government White Paper, clearly states or he is disinterested in its success. The policy states thus:

> Kiswahili and English will be taught as **compulsory subjects** to all children throughout the primary cycle, in both rural and urban areas. Emphasis in terms of allocation of time and in the provision of instructional materials, facilities and teachers will be, however, be gradually placed on Kiswahili as the language possessing greater capacity for uniting Ugandans and for assisting rapid social development. (p.19).

It is further put clearly as part of recommendation R.7: (b) that "Kiswahili and English will be **compulsory subjects** for all secondary school students". The policy document also is aware that "Some internationally recognized studies indicate that in Uganda, Kiswahili has the highest number of people (30%) speaking it as their second language" (p.18). This policy document goes on to recommend:

> (b) 3 NTCs to specialize in languages. ... Kiswahili will be the main language taught at the three NTCs and it will take the largest share of students. ... Kiswahili, curriculum studies, Development studies, ... are to be taught compulsorily as part of the core programme of all NTCs. ... 426. (i) The crash programme for training teachers will begin during 1992/93. Tutors are soon to be recruited from Tanzania, Kenya and from inside Uganda to implement this decision.

In other words, Kiswahili is not only included but it is a compulsory subject at primary and secondary as part of the core program of all NTCs. It would be interesting to investigate the extent Kiswahili enjoys the good will of policy makers and their interest in its success as a national language policy and how its implementation is progressing.

Although the schools have tried their best to destroy indigenous culture through denying local languages space in the school setting, there was underground resistance as Kalema's narrative revealed:

> *When it comes to instilling tribalism in the curriculum, you find that although English is the official language we don't have a national language. And since there is that issue of superiority that each one wants to promote his own language even in schools, although it could be an official policy of the school that students should speak English around the compound, but when they go to the dormitories they speak their languages.... even at the University you find students not speaking English but their various tribal languages. ... Most of the good schools are in Buganda. The Baganda feel that Luganda should be the medium of communication outside English. When it comes to institutions which don't have prefects like those of higher learning the students tend to put the tribal line of thinking through their*

> *organizations that they should speak their tribal languages.*[TR; August 4, 1995].

Students' reaction as Kalema has described is characteristic of the struggles indigenous knowledge, languages and cultures have been undergoing as a form of resistance to suffocation and total extinction. Another teacher, Balita, was of the view that it was appropriate to coerce students into speaking English for the sake of passing exams:

> *When they are still young, yes. We are training future leaders, and international leaders - not local leaders. Internationally, you need to know some basic international language. Swahili is regional.* [TR; August 4, 1995].

The view held by some teachers is that non-foreign languages are local, inferior, regional, and not international. These are deeply rooted views in institutions and other related sectors and organizations that provide support to the entire system of education as Boona, teacher educator, asked rhetorically that, "What *benefit would a local language for instance being used as a national language help us other than, you can put that off record ...?"* How many people speak English in Uganda is a question that is least entertained, or at best considered irrelevant. Why was Ngugi (1987) not exiled when he was still writing in English but when he started writing in Gikuyu to dialogue with the grassroots it was considered undesirable? It might suffice to say that indigenous languages are endangered species in their rightful societies. As Dajo testified, languages other than English are systemically being marginalized and persecuted in the formal school system.

> *In many schools students are not allowed to speak their vernaculars. In fact at one time we collided with the Headmaster in one school in Buganda here. Some pupils were to be punished by the headmaster because he found them talking Luganda. So they were condemned, condemning them of hearing them imitating vernacular. Now we teachers organized ourselves and refused that these children can not be punished mainly because Luganda is on the time-table. We teach them Luganda, now if they speak it we punish them*?[Tr: Workshop, 11 Nov; 1995]

Similarly, teachers who stood by the pupils who were pending punishment could be viewed as partly resisting the globalization project of English that is eliminating any other possibilities of survival of other languages in the school setting. Punishing to students for not speaking the "Queen's language" has kept English as one of the colonial relics instrumental in perpetuating a nostalgia of the colonial days popularly called "the good old days" when English was taught properly by white expatriate teachers. Barber (1995) also captures the situation vividly:

> In British colonies, the imposition of English language and English literature represented claims to the superiority of British civilization which were ultimately backed by force. Post colonialism, following Fanon, argues that indigenous languages and literatures were devalued and displaced, and the colonial subject culturally andlinguistically dispossessed, leading to deep loss of self-esteem and cultural confidence. ... the colonial subject is caught up in a double bind between the "catalepsy" of total self-identification with imperial cultural values and the "petrifaction" of adhering to a devalued, "calcified" indigenous system "whose developmental momentum has been checked by colonialism (Barber, 1995: 4).

Much as I recognize the value of learning languages other than one's own, it is hard to justify the logic behind the persecution of local languages and giving English a specially privileged position in the curriculum as seen in its compulsory status in schools, the many lessons it enjoys compared to other subjects, and the punishments inflicted on those who resist speaking, thinking and acting in it. When students fail to express themselves in both local languages and English in the future, they are condemned for being misfits in society when in reality the school is serving to disorient them.

Surprisingly, with all that emphasis on the Queen's language as the cultural capital for success, ever since it was introduced in a country of almost 17 million people, only a handful of elites can speak and understand it. But many people were beaten at one time for learning this supposedly important language for opening gates of success. Its failure to spread and unite the country is always associated with lack of funds, teachers, books without ever considering the other factors under play, like inherent resistance to it by the people in their effort to throw it away as part of the relics of colonialism. I think there is an aspect of a colonized mind that actively thrives on insensitivity to some of the real concerns. The current, debate in Uganda is, why is it that English standards are falling; why should Luganda be a national language or Luo or Kiswahili? Or where can such languages take you? The question that never features in the debate is: what is novel that has been exclusively achieved with the English language that is beyond realization with an alternative language? (Okot p'Bitek, 1970; Nandy, 1983; Ngugi,1987). This is the position held by victims of the intimate enemy relationship between the colonizer and the colonized mind. For instance, Kuguma argued that:

> *People came with various views especially those who have had political economy. But on my part I felt that someone can use a foreign language to build up a national economy or development. For example, we can be able to communicate. It is a bit difficult to begin with Kiswahili or what - but that one we will have to plan for it. But at this time I would not also like to say that it is very bad to have English which to us of various ethnic groups in Uganda can at least bring some representatives from there, we talk from*

> *someone from Arua, we talk with someone from Rukungiri, we talk with someone from Karamoja or what. Now what we need to have is awareness. And of course it is important to be inculcated into the students - just to have that awareness that there are certain goals which as Ugandans or Africans aim at. Now the language itself it is good we are aware that it is a foreign language, we know that it isn't ours, but we are using it for a purpose so long as it is towards national development.* [TR; August 5, 1995].

This teacher was expressing himself innocently, considering a language as neutral, value free just as a conveyor belt of the cherished secrets of development. He looks at it as the embodiment of civilization and progress with no possible alternatives which is an attitude of dependence. The attitude and orientation of a language and the worldview used to introduce it influences the way it is used to mediate relations in life. Production itself is not divorced from language. What is wrong with someone fluent in Kiswahili representing his people in parliament and debating national issues? As Ngugi (1981) says we produce in a culture. So culture and language are about production and development.

The languages which are constantly witch-hunted in schools are a clear indication that local and indigenous contribution in the school setting is viewed as a hindrance to development that have to be manipulatively denied a voice in the curriculum or kept outside the school setting completely. As part of the modernization process, local languages are identified by the advocates of the modernization paradigm as inhibiting national integration and development.

Looking also at English as possessing a package of unity and national integration exclusively is like the modernization syndrome blanketing most South countries that what is foreign works best and what is indigenous inhibits development. I do not think English holds a key to national integration and unity. Some other structural factors could be more responsible. Looking at some of the local languages like Kiswahili, Tanzania has done a lot more with it than any other East African country. The claim that there are no reading materials for Kiswahili can be also said for English. Focusing on the expenses involved only without considering what is lost in terms of national disintegration and disunity misses the point. It is like changing the names of districts by calling them names of towns e.g., Ankole District to Mbarara District or Lango District to Lira District without addressing the fundamental structural inequalities/imbalances in development that promote tribalism.

It is important therefore to note that language is only one of the many imperatives that can facilitate or enhance national integration but that it is not a panacea. The argument that in earlier days, physical integration through education was possible when students could move from one part of the country to another and study with students of a different tribe from his or her own need not be consumed uncritically. I do not believe that appreciation of one another if it at all took place at that time was due to English, as if English has a monopoly of generating the necessary positive attitudes conducive for the process of integration. Moreover, it is no longer feasible under the present budget cuts both at family and national level. If English had the margic to forge unity, Ireland and England would probably be more united than Uganda. The English language is not a panacea to unity problems. We need to look at other factors that undermine unity and national integration. It may also be said that with cooperation, an indigenous language properly utilized could advance the cause of national unity more than what English has achieved ever since it appeared in Uganda. English has failed to gain any organic linkages because of its exclusive elitist-cultural nature. Some people who have been exposed to it tend to forget it when they leave school because of its limited practical nature in their daily reality. It needs a relevant context which is very limited and remains an exclusive privilege of a few elites and those who work in places where elites exclusively go for service. These places are not trodden by human beings of all walks of life. What if a bilingual policy was put in place, wouldn't indigenous languages co-exist with the official language without necessarily suffocating the embodiment of the local cultures? In other words, a harmonious and balanced language policy needs to be sought.

7.5. Relevance of education to development

The relevance of education to needs of societal development featured as one of the themes in the views and narratives participants shared. Through their voices, teachers reflected on the quality of education in terms of its adequacy, appropriateness and relevance of the curricula in relation to meeting the needs of the country specifically considering its contribution to the promotion of critical thinking, positive attitudes and skills that would lead to building an integrated self-reliant egalitarian and just society. But before views of teachers are registered, the Government White Paper noted that in the secondary school curriculum,

> the teaching of practical and science subjects has degenerated into a theoretical exercise with emphasis continuing to be placed on academic performance, neglecting the practical aspects and the application of knowledge to the solving of problems especially in rural areas, industry and in social life generally (Government White Paper, 1992: p.71).

Mpurikize was asked in which way education in his school was preparing self-reliant citizens and his response was that:

> *Our system of education ... does not really offer our students the chance to be self-reliant. These are national problems, for example, we teach the way we teach because of the equipment we have and I think we can not escape that factor. We have that problem that within the system of education there are other things which education can not do unless other factors outside the education system are also adjusted* [TR; September 16, 1995].

However, the assumption that funds as a single variable can transform the educational landscape in terms of attitudes, paradigmatic orientations needs to be critically revisited. Lack of funds is a syndrome that renders itself to the modernization paradigm which believes in fixing everything technically, be it attitudes, world views and orientations. This is not to say that funds are irrelevant to the critical paradigm of teaching. Teachers' pedagogical orientation may allow them to seek solutions to their challenges by looking at funds or a particular method of work as the only way of doing things and hence obscuring and ruling out other creative, imaginative alternative initiatives which is again typical of the unilinear technocratic/modernization paradigm.

In one focus group teachers were asked in which way they considered the education system contributing to national development and Obadia explained as follows:

> *... ideally in our profession we should endeavor to excite the child's mind not only to imbibe information and reproduce it per se at the end of the day but I think to guide this child to see rationally issues that are obtaining whether educational, cultural or political, and then later on reflect on these issues and see whether he can manipulate the knowledge plus a sense of analysis to come out with something creative. ... on the ground, in the Ugandan context, what we see is completely contrary. ... a teacher of literature's role, whether French or English literature should be making students see the semblance of life in these texts that they read and study. But I don't think we do enough to change their behavior* [TR; August 5, 1995].

He elaborated how academic formal schooling was decontextualized thus:

> *The classroom form of schooling in the Ugandan context does not seem to bring into place the real life experience out side the classroom. We are covering contents, we are covering syllabus, we are saying objectives are at the end of the day this child has passed. ... a student of literature who has walked the corridors of literature should be able to create art, he should be able morally to be positively affected. I call that moral development. ... The output we get normally are students who when they come to terms with real life don't make rational judgment. They don't even have the moral sense. I think the little influence that teachers make in their different disciplines in their classrooms is not much reflected by our students at the end. ... I*

> *would have expected a senior six student who has done literature from S.1 or S.3 to be able to write a piece of a poem, to be able to communicate using the skills we have taught him.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

Obadia felt that

> *... But the child's objective is different. He wants to get a job, he wants to pass, he wants you to teach him the subject and at the end of the day he passes the exams. Otherwise, growing into a citizen who should create a job, who should have that resourceful mind, that initiative to do things himself, we don't normally realize that. The child continues to be dependent on either the parent or the teacher and I think they normally reproduce what they have learnt. I don't see anything novel that normally comes out of a Makerere graduate.* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Obadia went on to say that

> *If you ... went to Lugazi, to UGMA, to the meteorological industry, what you see on the ground is a man who dropped out from school even at P.3. But he is doing more viable production than the fellow who has gone through the gates of Makerere and done engineering and technology yet he can not manipulate, he can not use his education acquired to solve his social and economic needs at once* [TR; August 2, 1995].

In a similar voice, Kintu added that:

> *Actually the education system is sort of divorced from the practical point of view of what majority of Ugandans need. Because for us here when we are teaching, mainly we teach subjects which don't have a real practical bias as far as real life is concerned. We concentrate on what is mainly in the book. We don't go very far, in as far as teaching children how to survive is concerned. But I am not saying that this education system is completely bad. It has its advantages also* [TR; August 5, 1995].

So far, these two teachers were from urban located schools. But the view from teachers serving in schools located in rural areas is not any different from the perspective of those from schools in urban areas:

> *The education system ... is western oriented and if we can formulate our own, if the government of Uganda can sit and formulate our own curriculum which corresponds to our real needs as Ugandans it would serve better than depending on that curriculum which is western* [TR; August 24, 1995].

When Bekunda was asked what contribution education was making towards national development, he said:

> *No. No. I wouldn't say that our education in Uganda has really done it. Because our education system first of all we have a syllabus in place. And we teach according to what the Curriculum Development Center gives us. But when you really look at it, it is not married to the local needs of our*

> *society. I wouldn't say that it is catering for what I would really call development. It is more academic and the skills which we are acquiring are not married to our local needs. So, I would really feel that there is need to transform and reform the curriculum because the History I studied, the geography I studied, they look to be abstract. That is my personal view any way* [HM; August 9, 1995].

According to Bekunda,

> *Since colonial time, not much has changed. ... For example, let me tell you that Uganda small as it is a man who lives in this area really knows very little about how this environment can be protected, can be developed and even how it can be made productive, or harnessed. And he knows very little about his friend even in the closest district but he knows too much about the poulders in the Netherlands and too much on U.S.A. I am not saying it is bad to know it. But surely, if you don't know how you can use that area, if you can not know how to irrigate your area, it is now here that we are facing a drought but there are very few geographers around who can see how really to go about this drought. Now what use are those Geography skills which does not enable a Geographer from around to use that Geography knowledge to improve on his environment? That is why I am saying that there must be a fault somewhere, somehow in the education system* [HM; August 9, 1995].

This administrator is looking at the education system as having outgrown its usefulness in increasing productivity and the ability of those who go through it to harness the environment. In a focus group discussion with some teachers, the same question was posed to establish in which way they thought the education system was producing a self-reliant citizen and Obadia respondedthat:

> *... I dismissed it as incompetent towards that direction much earlier. Because whoever we produce is dependent either for a job or for ideas or even for his or her personal needs. That is why when a child gets pushed off a system before getting into a training institution that student even loses the general knowledge he has acquired. I don't think a senior six girl ... trained today, if that girl does not get into the history department at Makerere or elsewhere to do more history or to apply history, that kid next to Buddu will not forget all the history.* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Kuguma with a different view said

> *... For us in history, there are certain skills which we develop, not necessarily the content ... we believe that after university someone is able to look at things critically or someone can be able to relate what happened one time and today's. ... some can be able to recall that towards 1966 in Uganda there was a certain clash between conflicting political opinions and created some trouble. And today we would be having something almost similar and what do we do. ... we train someone to use certain content. Otherwise, you can teach the history of China or any, just to develop the mind of someone. So we don't mind whether someone remembers or not exactly what we taught - just the skill. ... at these levels, we teach certain things just to*

> *prepare someone to use it as a basis to doing another professional course* [TR; August 5, 1995].

But Obadia maintained that

> *... ideally we are supposed to develop those critical senses and make or wait and see whether these are applied in the situations that are to come. Back to what I have said, a child who has been taught Physics or Biology or English to me if that kid is left hanging at the end of S.4 or S.6, that kid may not be self-sustaining. That knowledge learnt so far may not enable that kid to solve her or his problems from the point he left school onwards. In other words, the Physics this kid has learnt many not make him go into creating something that can sustain his livelihood. So I think our education system is largely lacking. It does not make you move out and depend on yourself or become creative and sustain your life.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

Another teacher, Kobutesi said that

> *... the curriculum designers had in mind to produce white skins in black skins. Otherwise they did not put in consideration the cultural background of these young kids so that you train them to live in an African society. They were trained to live a super life which they can't attain. That is, to produce people who are going to get jobs which are white collar jobs ..., the resources are there but they are not fully tapped. ... So they could have designed a curriculum which is going to give the young generation a chance to be self-employed. Like technical schools. They are beginning to set them up. And those which are there are not fully equipped. Therefore, those who pass though the technical schools are half baked. So it would have been better if they had looked at the curriculum in relation to the cultural background and the available resources of the nation. ...The curriculum was not fully designed for the African set up* [TR; July 13, 1995].

when asked whether as teachers they realized that what they taught was irrelevant, the response was,

> *... we were trained under the same irrelevant curriculum system. ... in fact we are regressing at a very fast speed. What I am trying to say now is that there is no way you are going to develop a resource of somebody unless it has got a base. That base is what we are-our culture, our surroundings. There is no way you are going to teach me about winter when I have not known anything about changes in weather. And those changes in weather are only going to be contextualized in my own home surroundings. ...the relevance of the curriculum is very much a missing point. ... Can't we have a grass-thatched house which is challenging the so-called modern houses so that you don't have to have air-conditioners - we are uprooted. If they are to do something about the curriculum, it should also have a lot of practical subjects* [TR; July 13, 1995].

At this juncture, Oye, one of the teachers made the observation that

> *... much as we can plan for a very good curriculum or a change of a new curriculum, we might have to consider where we are going to get the funds to provide facilities where all these plans can be worked out. That means the government has to come up with good plans to take priority of education,*

> *to set up more schools to train technical teachers to go back to the villages to set up these schools* [TR; July 13, 1995].

In another focus group, teachers were asked how they found the education given to the students relevant to their needs and they responded thus:

> *My contribution there is that these Kajubi commissions have made very very good recommendations but you see they need money. A good education system needs money. Because a good education system would imply that there is a lot of practical and technical education. And you know technical and practical education costs money where as this theoretical education costs less. So, I don't think we are lacking in ideas. The ideas produced by the Kajubi report are very good. But can the government implement them? They don't have the money . They just look at it - the ideas* [TR; August 2, 1995].

It is assumed that with more money, problems can be best be contained. It is only then that education will be relevant to the needs of society. Asked whether or not the necessary good will and attitudes to implement the policies in such documents existed in the country, one teacher responded with a question: "*How do you expect attitudes to change unless the implementors are motivated?*" In this case he meant teachers. Asked in which way, his response was: "*Financially*". But Musoke was of a different view:

> *I think motivation may not be salary. It may be facilities because for example you want to be a good teacher but you don't have books, they are old, you don't have magazines, we don't have professional journals, so we need motivation even in facilities. It's not only a question of salary.* [TR; August 4, 1995].

Deprivation and lack of motivating facilities are contemporary realities facing teachers in majority of Ugandan secondary schools as they execute their duties. Much as many teachers would like to look at motivation only in monetary rewards, a minority transcend the material aspect and look at professional ingredients that would increase their motivation and harness their performance.

Teachers' views were also revealing when asked in which way the type of education that was taking place in their school contributed to national development and Babirye said that

> *As far as I can see, it promotes economic development more than political because we don't look at the political issues as such or social issues very much. But at least every student knows that after school I am going to get a good job, I am going to acquire this and the other all from the economic point of view.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

Zipora was of a similar view stating that:

> *The most overriding is the economic point of view. But we can not rule out that socially we also try to build the students to the effect of becoming responsible members of the community especially through the morals we try to inculcate in them.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

Asked how she used R.E., her teaching subject to do it, the response was:

> *Well we try to teach students their duties to the nation, what is expected of them, their responsibilities and all other aspects of life. How they should relate to work, their responsibility towards the state politics especially the A'Level students* [TR; August 2, 1995].

Babirye who taught Geography said:

> *I teach Geography and so we don't usually bring out that social aspect very much, and political issues. ... we bring it in when we are just casually talking. Some ime in a lesson there is a short period of discussion about something that is not related to what we are doing and that is when we can bring in those various issues that arise* [TR; August 2, 1995].

Asked why, from what she had said, the most pertinent issues were marginalized by just talking about them as a by the way in class outside the actual learning process and she said it was because of "*the syllabus from the Ministry of Education*" Her colleague, Zipora, was also of a similar view that:

> *The National Curriculum Development Center. It is responsible for making this syllabus and actually teachers ... are only presented what we are supposed to teach and how to go about it* [TR; August 2, 1995].

The teachers were not only given what to teach but shown how to teach it. According to Babirye, a teacher's work was examination driven:

> *We don't have any autonomy as such. ... the things are given to us and we do our best to make sure that we complete what we are supposed to complete. Whether really it is going to help in development or not - it is part of the syllabus. ... The 'O'Level syllabus is far fetched. For example in 'A'Level we have a subject called Human Problems and Development. The fact that we are looking at these developments and how they have been able to overcome their problems helps the students to know what they are going to do in future when they come across such developmental issues. But then when we come to 'O'Level for example we study say the Rhine lands, North America and there is no way a student thinks about the concept of development as he or she is studying that subject. ... you find that we have to look at so many countries very briefly so it is very hard to bring out those various concepts of development that you would have wanted to develop in a student* [TR; August 2, 1995].

Teachers were asked what justification there was for them to teach things which they did not seem to agree with, as if it was a "system of imposed ignorance", as Chomsky has put it. Zipora offered the following explanation:

> *... the studying of those other countries is not absolutely irrelevant except that the manner in which it is done does not bring out what the students can benefit from. For example the students learn about development in those countries, the problems associated with it - that is at 'O'Level without relating it to our own situation here in areas where we could also develop or what problems we are likely to encounter if we take on that kind of development. And I think most of that problem comes because the whole syllabus was made so wide and the time is so little and so limited that even if those teachers who have that insight tried to relate the two, they would find themselves caught up in between and yet on the other hand there is the pressure from the UNEB where students must finish a particular syllabus, not necessarily the way they agree with which it is supposed to be done*[TR; August 2, 1995].

The views expressed here imply that teachers continued to serve as conduits or instruments in the current system even if they were aware that such teaching did not prepare citizens able to creatively apply abstract knowledge to solving concrete problems in society. Babirye concurred with Zipora saying that

> *I really want to agree with her. There is a mismatch between what we may be teaching and what is related to our country. But if the syllabus was put in such a way that we are kind of looking at those areas relating them to our country, then it would bring up the developmental issues that we want to bring out. But I see that actually the problem is the syllabus. It is too wide and the time given for it is too short* [TR; August 2, 1995].

Katongole, a teacher also felt that

> *... the education system we have does not equip, does not train the people to use those resources but rather to move away from those resources. Because after school, after my university, I could not go back to the land, not because I don't have a skill but the nature of the education system. Because I imagined that after school, the only thing I can do would be the job I would put on a tie and simply supervise* [TR; Open day: Standard High School, 1995].

As a policy maker noted,

> *Like the teacher has lost morale because of little pay, the parent has also lost morale because of the quality of education. I am citing the example of the PLE. We measure education by how many grade ones in that year. And us policy makers ,we say that education is very bad or the teachers are very poor* [Conference Participant on Education for All, Nov; 1995].

The parent has lost morale because of the quality of education in terms of its utility and relevance but not necessarily on the account of ignorance and primitivity. Another conference participant who took a critical stance

> *attributed dropouts to the boring education they are condemned to endure if they are to have a bright future. But where education has become so boring something has to be done. Some of these children who have dropped out of school, not necessarily because of school fees, some it is because the content of what is being taught does not apply to his immediate needs, live alone his basic needs. There are things which he thinks are very important to him today and these are not addressed in the class.*[Conference Participant Nov; 1995].

From the narratives of the respondents, education that was taking place in Ugandan secondary schools does not seem to meet the expectations and development needs of society. The participants felt that education was not addressing itself to national realities in terms of economic, social and political aspirations of the people. Instead, it was generating contradictions and very costly irrelevancies. The curriculum is dominated by academic learning with very little application or relevance to everyday community realities and development problems. Teachers felt that the education system was not in a position to prepare a citizen who was imbued with values and attitudes of self-reliance and commitment to serving their fellow citizens, in particular, the poor majorities. The time constraints, the examination driven curriculum and the meritocratic nature of the whole system generated the "diploma disease" syndrome which cultivated fertile ground for a pedagogy of "banking" to thrive (Dore, 1976; Oxfenham, 1984; Freire, 1970). Teachers displayed awareness of the irrelevance of this type of formal education. However, they seemed caught up by the dictates of the structures in the system which sustained such irrelevancies.

7.5.1. Quality and equity of education

On issues of quality of education, teachers were asked to give their views on what they considered to be the causes of the poor performance of some students in the same school or even in the same class. A teacher from a rural located school responded as follows:

> *... the caliber of students in this school is not the right one. You find students who have had wrong, almost lack proper parental care. You find when he is coming here he is almost like an animal. He does not know anything, there are even students who are in 'A'level who actually apart from wearing a long trouser you feel they are not supposed to be in a school like Kigezi High School or else where. And the problem is that such students - some of them escape suspension or go on up to S.4 and through*

> *their own ways or the ways of their parents they happened to go to Grade III institutions when they are empty headed. How will you consider the sort of pupil he is going to train? So, there is that wrong system* [TR; August 24, 1995].

He illustrated with an example that

> *...when you find in a school teachers who have been coming from Karukaata and Bukinda TTCs most of them don't have certificates, most of them have been rebels in schools of this type - not from these other good schools; so that there has not been any training in the primary schools especially in a Gomborora like this one where you found that after doing primary seven examination you get one student in grade one - in the whole Gomborora with nine schools or more - you get one student in grade one. And even the few ones who get grade two, those ones go to these other schools and then the residues are sent here. So you see that actually when these students come from the primary you get a very wrong impression* [TR; August 24, 1995].

The teachers in the rural located schools resort to blaming the victims of development - the students, that they are of bad quality to the extent the teachers equate them with "animals". The culture of the majority of teachers is of the elite that dominates the school process and that is why teachers would emerge with descriptions of students like "You find when he is coming here, he is almost like an animal" instead of having feelings of compassion, solidarity and love. But one teacher on commenting the students admitted in the school observed that:

> *They are not only those who failed but there are those who come from poor families because they can not afford to pay school fees in those other schools. So they come here because it is cheap* [TR; August 2, 1995].

Mureebe, another teacher participant from a rural located school said:

> *Now when we look at our school and its location really, the surrounding schools are very poor. And that as a result brings in some students to senior one when they died earlier in P.7, P.6 . Thishas really become a problem as compared to some other schools where the senior ones are those who start from nurseries and go to some good schools and then to senior one. So, you find it more strenuous to tune the students who come from around the poor primary schools to the expected level* [TR; August 10, 1995].

Asked what kind of parents they had around who normally had children in the school, this teacher in the rural located school added:

> *The parents are poor peasants. So, at times they even don't pay till the end of the term. You find the student doesn't concentrate successfully because he is off and on, off and on - being sent away by the authorities to go and collect school fees unlike some good schools where the student when he is*

> *reporting comes with all the funds, pays and then starts off* [TR; August 10, 1995].

The report of the school charges Task Force (1994) which described the unattractive setting of poor rural schools pointed out disturbing and ugly inequalities such as

> ... in developing schools, students study under trees. ... there are no laboratories for science such that practicals are theoretically done ...Teachers travel long distances to go to school...This in itself makes teaching very difficult...in some schools students carry out experiments during UNEB examinations due to lack of chemicals and apparatus. ... it is clear that the developed schools enjoy a monopoly of university graduate teachers; for example, Nabisunsa, out of 54 teachers 41 are university graduates whereas Seseme Girls out of 20 teachers only 1 is a graduate and 14 untrained. For immaculate Heart; out of 37 teachers, 12 are graduates as compared to Warr Girls where out of 26, 1 is a university graduate and 16 untrained. This imbalance is reflected in the performance; Nabisunsa with about 70% teachers as graduates performed better than Seseme SS with 5% of its teachers as graduates (p,44).

Teachers in urban located schools were of similar views in some aspects as their voices revealed:

> *There are many causes-some of them are social, some of the children are not willing to learn. They are just in school some of them come from very bad situations that they rarely read , no stimulus, nothing. They don't see any reason why they should learn.* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Ninsiima interjected saying that

> *... and more so it is the motivation we teachers give to students. ... in the villages some teachers are not trained. You find that the trained teachers tend to always center around here [Kampala]. So you find just a person who has got out of S.4. teaching that kid. And if she failed it means that same knowledge will not be passed on to the students and therefore the kid may not perform. If they really encouraged these teachers to go for refresher courses they would know the methods, the psychology and the subject matter and it could promote the students' performance* [TR; July 13, 1995].

The inequitable distribution of teachers between urban and rural remains a serious problem that can be addressed by re-training and training of the teachers. According to this teacher, the rural poor schools were disempowered:

> *Some of these up country schools or what we call remote schools are not given any motivation. However well they perform they may not reach the levels of Namagunga . When results are out so many schools this and this these schools were the first 50, the best 50 in the country. And you as a whole district has no school in this category. Moroto, now, tell me what those students are going to do. They will always know that 'for us we can never perform well', the morale goes down, the teachers' morale goes*

> *down, the headmaster's morale goes down. Definitely the performance ends up deteriorating* [TR; July 13, 1995].

A policy maker in the Ministry of Education and Sports proposed that the system of putting the best performing fifty schools in the mass media should be stopped since it was demoralizing schools which were perennially left out of such a list as elitist ones were permanently on it. Would this change the social, political, economic structures that disadvantage such schools and the community of pupils, their teachers and parents that support them? Ninsiima believed that the reason behind the poor performance of some schools compared to that of the good performing schools was due to:

> *...the economic, social facilities as well as the moral facilities ...You find a school up in the North will not get a book which has been introduced in the country. Somebody here will run to the book shops in town, get the best book. ... For example, ...it is mainly PTA which has actually been running the schools. You find a teacher here is being paid maybe 180,000 on top of the salary. Somebody in the north has never heard of the PTA because the resources that they are going to get that money from, it is the poor farmer who has been exploited by the rich who have centered themselves here such that even the little he does for the rich man he is not paid. That is why they are getting poorer and poorer. The performance is becoming poorer and poorer.*[TR; July 13, 1995].

The view held by Ninsiima implied that there was some internal colonialism whereby the rich in urban centers sustained a drain on the resources of the rural poor which was not conducive for the prosperity of the schools that were supported by an impoverished population, but not laziness as such. This curtailed their capacity to meet the basic needs of life and required more expenditures on education. In the Northern parts of the country, land tenure as a consequence of land decrees of 1975 led to some landlessness and landlordism which altered ways of survival of the people in terms of meeting their basic needs of life and real incomes that could enhance their contribution to the education needs of their children. Mamdani (1984) puts it well:

> ... the decree was created to clear the mesh of capitalist relations blocking the path to capitalist development in agriculture. But ... the main effect of the decree has been to introduce absentee landlordism in these parts, in fact the decree has become a weapon of bureaucrat capitalists seeking to expand their tentacles to the countryside (p. 44).

Other parts of the country in South Western Uganda experience worse land problems than even the Northern region which goes a long way to explain partly why poor parents found it hard to provide adequately for their children even those who strenuously managed to send them to school. A policy maker told his audience of parents, teachers and students that

> *because of malnutrition which affects the brains as well, schools in rural areas have continued to perform poorly. Between ages 1-5, about 30 out of 100 children are suffering from kwashiorkor in Uganda due to ignorance. We have the foods but people do not know how to use them and this has caused malnutrition in the country. People no longer eat wild fruits* [PM; August 27, 1995].

The reality is that the present generation of parents, by all standards, have been exposed to more formal education than the majority of the generation of parents of this policy maker who did not suffer from shameful diseases like kwashiorkor. The most plausible reason might be poverty rather than ignorance. The wild fruits he talked about were in an environment that was not fully privatized and every member of the community had access to the wild fruits. Not today. In any event, the unsustainable model of development has not spared the capacity of the environment to survive the genocide it has suffered in the name of profit. Rather than locating the problem in the austerity measures of structural adjustment and similar policies that have caused budget cutbacks and environmental degradation, the Ministry official attributed the invisible and visible malnutrition to the ignorance of parents and their children who, in reality, are mere victims of anti-people development policies.

Participants in one focus group were in a position to make conclusions from their dialogue, as Oye said that

> *I can see that some kind of vicious cycle among the schools especially those up country because the teachers who go back to teach in those schools are those students who were failed some of them- a good number of them had failed and, there is nothing much you can do when it comes to us as a teacher and training in such a particular situation. So the whole thing comes back. You take poor students to become, to go finish as teachers but poor teachers and then - so there is that kind of vicious cycle which I feel is there* [TR; July 13, 1995].

Hence, the vicious cycle appears, to a large extent, to be directly related to poverty in a sense that the poor go to the poor schools; they are taught by poor teachers; they then go to attend poor training colleges; and finally they go on to teach children of their fellow poor. With another focus group, teachers were asked in which way they saw school as an institution trying to mitigate inequalities and Babirye said,

> *My answer is both. You find that the children who go to school are mostly the children of the able and so when they finish school they also become able and they continue paying for their kids and so on. Those who will continue having. But then there is also that small percentage which comes to school although they are poor, they work very hard, they succeed and therefore bridge the gap between those who are poor and who are rich.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

Babirye noticed the role of schooling as partly reproducing the elites in elitist schools. But she felt that some hard working children also made it to prosperity through the meritocratic system. This view derives from the modernization beliefs that through hard work the poor also can make it. That in doing so, they succeed and therefore bridge the gap between those who are poor and the rich. It is the historical lecture the North gives the South countries that if they "work hard", they will also emerge like the NICs. Much as the teacher respondent believed that it was a small number of poor students who went to school, normally the poor form the bulk but though numerically superior, success is always with the very few from well-to-do-families - at local, national and at international levels. Asked whether she would regard education an equalizer and a bridge to the gap between the rich and the poor, Babirye's response was, "*Yes if say we had all the kids going to school at least from the primary level it could really help in bridging that gap.*"[TR; August 2, 1995].

With a similar faith in the catch up theory, a policy maker also told a story to his audience of students, parents and teachers when he had gone to visit Muduma SSS, a "Third World" school up-country. He outlined his stages of development that were slanted to the unilinear stages prescribed for the Third World nations to follow if they were to develop. In the Rostowian fashion, he contended that if the students wanted to succeed [develop] they should emulate his example. The ministry official counseled his audience to follow his father's example who sold almost everything he had in order to educate his children to the extent that the village mates started laughing at him. "*But now we are better off,*" he concluded. He used this example to tell the people that "*investing in education is paying*" so that they should use all means to educate their children. According to him, "*the way you choose your priorities will determine what you will become in future*". [TR; August 27, 1995]. In other words, he and his father made a choice that made them what they actually are now. The type of education being offered was not viewed as problematic at all but was regarded as good for all children. He further regarded his path of development generalizable to all generations at all times. It is through such views and beliefs expounded by politicians cum policy makers as role models that sustain peoples' faith in the power of the current system of education that it can bring "development" to both the individual and the entire nation (Carnoy, 1974; Kumar-S'ouza, 1976; Coontz, 1974). This belief lends itself to the "catch-up" myth of the modernization paradigm and it continues to recruit new disciples through such advocates. The small and unrepresentative percentage of elites from humble families where this policy maker/politician I have referred to hailed from has always been used to claim, advocate, defend and justify the so-called impartiality of the meritocratic education system as a reliable means of selection in a fair and free competition that guides the invisible hand of a free market economy (Bock, 1982). It not only legitimizes inequalities but also teaches its victims to blame themselves in case they do not make it. They trace their failure" through their so-called stupidity while on the other hand the victors congratulate themselves for their so-called hard work. Those who fail could be resistors to an irrelevant education system while the majority of the victors were the conformists.

Zipora advanced this view:

> *I also look at it from two angles. Externally, I don't think education really is doing so much to bridge that gap. Because if you look at our educational institutions they actually tend to perpetuate that difference because we have some First World schools as we term them others Third World schools. And if you look at the fees structure - this is not government but PTA and the like, it differs, so the payments differ and unfortunately it is in those First World schools where the cream of the country is produced. So people who go to those schools continuously do better and they get good jobs whereas those who go to those poor schools don't have adequate facilities to do better and as a result they can not compete favorably with those that go to better schools.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

She added that

> *However, when you come internally within the school system themselves the administrators are trying to bridge the gap between the rich and the poor in the sense that uniformity is emphasized amongst the students body. There are certain things we tell the students to come with others we stop them from bringing so that those who are from poor families really don't feel out of place and those from rich families don't have the opportunity to over show the others that they are well to do.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

Asked how she helped students to understand why such inequalities existed in society and the world at large, her reply was:

> *Well in our discipline at least we try to tackle that especially when we discuss the problems of the poor countries, poor individuals as contrasted to the wealthy. We try to find out why that difference is there. The differences could be because of the various opportunities somebody might be having; the type of job you do whether you are working as a top government official, or a peasant or a civil servant and the nature of job you do also is determined by the kind of background you come from and the kind of education you attained whether you were able to go to school and you eventually further your studies. So we look at some of the factors and we come to appreciate from different backgrounds, different levels of income which actually expose them to different opportunities and various types of jobs.*[TR; August 2, 1995].

The explanation remains situated in the typical modernization orientation, without critically giving the learners a deep insight into what actually structures human beings unequally. Her explanation implied that inequalities emerged as a natural phenomenon, as a given, not human-made. It was demonstrated from the narratives that inequalities among schools in terms of facilities and teachers made the role of education as an equalizer of opportunity questionable given the fact that many poor schools received qualified teachers last, and lacked almost everything that would enhance learning. Much as education was viewed as generally irrelevant to the practical realities of the majority people of Uganda, the irrelevant education Ugandan children were receiving was not of the same quality. The irrelevant education was not justly distributed to Ugandans under the same learning environmental conditions.

7.6. Building a just and peaceful society

Views were sought to establish how teachers were contributing to build a more self-reliant, democratic, just, and peaceful society. This was to establish from teachers' views and beliefs to what extent they saw themselves involved in the process of national development and how they saw themselves contributing towards it. Put differently, what do they think and believe they contribute as primary agents in the education enterprise to the development process and how they were doing it? They responded thus:

> *... when you teach the children they contribute to the development of the nation as far as I think. First of all we develop their spiritual life in some way. We develop the moral, we develop the physical as well as the material. And these are very important as far as the development of a nation is concerned. For example, if I teach a student a new language I open his mind to the outside world. A student who is Anglo-phone is not like a person who is both Anglo-phone and Franco-phone. If he can speak French and English and can read both - such a person is at an advantage. Because he can be able to read certain others which a person who only knows English can not read. In that sense he gets more useful information. Apart from knowledge, there is the idea of employment. When a student is bi-lingual, as far as I know such a student is exposed to greater job opportunities in the world than a person who is just with one.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

He went on to add that

> *Teachers generally when they are teaching they teach students to behave. For example from the routine school system from morning to when they go to bed, there is a certain time-table they follow. They must be punctual, they must be disciplined, they must be obedient. Now when they go through this system - punctuality, obedience, discipline, and so on, it has an*

> *impact on their life, and later in life when they grow up disciplined, when they grow up knowing that time is very important, later in life they will be able to manage their lives quite quite well - that is the moral bit of it. ... when I look at the physical bit of the education system the schools have what they call the extra curricula activities like games and sports. These are very vital because they help to develop the students body - not only the mind. The Greeks said that a healthy mind in a healthy body. So even physically the students develop in the school system.* [TR; August 5, 1995].

Furthermore, the spiritual component in most schools seemed to be couched in the "civilizing mission" as schools have tended to cling to the apron strings of the religious founding bodies that dictate the kind of moral inclination pursued by those schools, in most cases, rejecting school administrators of a different religious affiliation. Although the schooled would like to claim that the non-schooled were more likely to be superstitious when explaining Africa's underdevelopment, it remains questionable whether the schooled were more spiritual than the rest of the unschooled population in terms of compassion, love, solidarity with the poor and respect for other peoples' rights. When I talk of spirituality here I mean the way it has been articulated by Rehnema (1992) to express the following qualities:

> sensitivity; the art of listening to the world at large and within one, free from the hegemony of a conditioned 'me' constantly interfering in the process; the ability to relate to others and to act, without any pre-defined plan or ulterior motives; and the perennial qualities of love, compassion and goodness which are under constant assault in economized societies. The spiritual dimension has nothing to do with the so-called religious, atheistic, or scientific perceptions of the world. It expresses mainly the belief that human beings, in their relations with the world, are moved not only by material, economic or worldly interests. It recognizes the sacred dimension of life which transcends the latter, giving a higher meaning to such awesome acts as living, relating and love. The spiritual dimension, it may be said, is generally inhibited by fanatical beliefs in the superiority of one religion over another. As such, contrary to its promoters' claims, it is totally absent in religious fundamentalist movements based on hate and violence (p,130).

Regarding discipline which Kintu said was nurtured among the students, some critical theorists have argued that instead of instilling discipline, schools have instilled subservience. According to Kintu, students have to conform. Deviation would precipitate conflicts and such a student would be undesirable. S/he would suffer in the system and s/he would be regarded as a problem child. The system would like to set parameters of dissent both inside and outside class so much so that even dissent is programmed or guided as to how the slave should rebel against an oppressive master. Ultimately when the student is regarded by the system as unbearable, s/he is thrown out;

s/he is expelled; or s/he is always on detention, serving punishments; such a student is always in trouble and vulnerable; s/he is an endangered species.

As critical pedagogy analysts have noted, a passive culture of learning in schools provides future citizens with stale values, attitudes helpful to maintaining external norms e.g., discipline, punctuality, and obedience. According to the critical/transformative paradigm of teaching this only meets the expectations of an unjust, undemocratic, repressive social order instead of preparing students to explore ways and means of challenging or questioning the status quo. If schooling is critical, then students will ask questions and struggle towards answers, and the answers will not always be pleasant to their teachers, headmasters, and parents and pastors and politicians for whom criticism must be maintained within "productive" parameters. It would therefore appear that many teachers are condemned to devote their energies constructing/moulding young people into shapes that can be fitted into pigeonholes, thereby guaranteeing the preservation of society's status quo (Giroux; 1986; Leggo, 1992; McLaren, 1989). This is not to say that the transformative paradigm does not reward discipline, punctuality and obedience. The only difference is that the transformative paradigm of teaching encourages these values in a critical and problematized context rather than assuming that they should be adopted uninterrogated, unquestioned as given and universally accepted realities in any setting.

Mpaka, a teacher educator explained teachers contribution in building a democratic and peaceful society as follows:

> *They form the cadreship of the education system. They are involved in policy making at all levels, they are involved in the making of the curricula at all levels. They are selected for example on the curriculum formulation board ... various teachers from TTCs, secondary schools, university and so on. This is a policy making body so the teacher has definitely put in a lot of ideas. So curriculum formulation - they do, they train the teachers although they are teachers, of course they teach what they have formulated and they supervise this process. ... many of them go to secondary schools to teach, some become heads of schools and departments although a few are taken away not in teaching but still they are consumed by government agencies and there as government agents they are involved in decision muking like administration. Some join the army, others join the government and that way they contribute in various activities.* [TE; September 21, 1995].

The view from Bekunda, a school administrator, was that:

> *... a teacher has a vital role to play if development is to come about. And every government in both developed and developing countries, I would call development to a government as maybe one would call blood to his body. ... these governments which are in place know that you have to prepare this and that before you can take off ... But why is it that the government has*

> *never taken the trouble to create a venue for teachers, although there is this defunct UTA ... if there is going to be a change or development, there are some people who must be used. There must be instruments and we are the instruments really. Because if you talk of education for development you bring in a teacher. But why do you think the government is being hesitant to create us a secretariat or a suggestion box?* [HM; August 9, 1995].

According to Bekuda, teachers have not been facilitated to play a role in building a self-reliant, just and peaceful society. Teachers' participation has remained limited and undermined because of lack of avenues that would allow meaningful communication and participation, as earlier noted by their marginalization in curriculum decisions. However, this school administrator's view of a teacher as an instrument in the development process renders itself to the modernization paradigm whereby a teacher is reduced to a technician, instrumentally used to implement programs passively with no personal initiative and ingenuity being called upon. In the critical paradigm, a teacher is instrumental in as far as raising the heights of critical awareness is concerned. As Birija noted,

> *... for us on the side of education, we have not taken it as something important to always advise our students that to be corrupt is bad. For example when I have been teaching, I have talked about it but many other teachers may not have been doing the same. Because it is not official that you should talk about it all the time as we do come for our lessons and so on. It is not official, ... it is not stated somewhere that whenever you teach a lesson, you talk about corruption. No. It is not anywhere on the syllabus. That is why we say that some of these things need to be changed.*[TR; August 10, 1995].

The way in which the curriculum is organized in compartments and time-tabled in relation to meritocratic examinations were also a hindrance to teachers efforts toward building a just society. Birija went on to say that

> *... when I am teaching my subject as economics, somewhere it comes in. And when it comes in really I stress it because I have an experience, I know what it means and how disastrous it is. But to some people who are teaching other subjects it might not come in and such a person may not talk about it ...* [TR; August 10, 1995].

Birija further expressed the view that

> *... to some extent our government has been talking about it but if you talk and you don't act, people get disappointed. ... people have been writing, these journalists have been writing unearthing cases of corruption and have come up with some proof but then we see many of these people who have been talked about as corrupt are still the same people ruling or promoted, continuing, and so on. Then, those of us who are here struggling all the time you have got nothing to embezzle at all and even you don't intend to embezzle anything but you are just still backward like that.*[TR; August 10, 1995].

In other words, people who are corrupt are promoted and at the same time become the role models and "success stories" for society to emulate. It is like the South nations now searching for the foot prints of the industrialized nations to follow.

Obadia took the liberty to make an observation but which sounded as a conclusion when he said,

> *... our view of education and the teachers contribution is pegged to materialism. We think that education means improving our physical comfort, individual gain, nothing else. Education is no longer radical and rational behavioral change which behavioral change should inculcate into the educated the human values of what I called - of helping your neighbor, pulling him out of the ditch which our children can't and which we cannot do. Education should be developing a sense of empathy or sympathy for a neighbor which changes are not there. At the end of the day we are saying; I think that person is educated because he can now drive a pajero.*[TR; August 5, 1995].

For this teacher, a person who has gone to school in Uganda who should to be a role model does not have compassion, love, solidarity for his or her fellow citizens, particularly the poor majority. The narratives did not feature teachers as engaged in a conscious process of building a democratic, just and peaceful society.

This chapter has explored various sub-themes regarding development at local and national level as respondents perceived it. The majority slanted their perception and orientation of development to the modernization paradigm. Development was conceived as massive industrialization on the model of nations in the North. The impoverishment of the masses was closely linked with the victims "ignorance," illiteracy," having too many children and lack of planning and "expert" advice. The chapter also revealed that there are some internal and external forces which manifested practices and attitudes inimical to building institutions that would be supportive to people-centered development. In particular, aid as one of the aspects of the external components was viewed as complex and characterized by practices that did not promote solidarity and partnerships oriented to building self-reliance of the recipients. Furthermore, an intellectual community committed to the well being of the people seemed to be lacking. It was also contended by the participants that education largely remained irrelevant to the needs and aspirations of a people-centered development. Hence, education in its present form in Uganda is not in position to contribute significantly toward building a more equitable, just and peaceful society.

CHAPTER 8

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

8.1. Introduction

This chapter provides a synthesis of the major findings and conclusions of this research study. The thrust of the study was to illuminate the role and contributions of the teaching profession to the realization of national development policies based on principles of social justice, cultural relevance, democratic participation and environmental sustainability in Uganda. Teachers were given opportunities to voice their understanding of contemporary realities of Uganda schools and their responses as teaching professionals to those realities. The study sought to understand the contemporary realities experienced or conceived by the teaching profession and explore how and why these realities could be contributing, positively and/or negatively to the realization of Uganda's national development policies. The chapter concludes with theoretical and methodological reflections as well as recommendations for Ugandan policies relating to the teaching profession and implications for further research.

8.2. Major findings

There has been little attention in Uganda to the study of teachers' work at a micro level whereby teachers are given spaces to voice their ideas, beliefs and experiences through narratives. The consistent evidence in this thesis has been that by and large, the education system in Uganda, in which a teacher is pivotal, has fallen short of providing skills, knowledge and values for full participation of citizens in social, economic, political and cultural development. It is therefore not surprising that very little of the developmental ideals of education have been realized.

8.2.1. Teachers' professional identity

(i) Sources of teachers' beliefs, attitudes and practices: Teachers identified themselves with "moulding" students into adult citizens who will go on to occupy most of the responsible positions in the country. In this way, they considered themselves "instrumental" in the Ugandan development process. Teachers were disillusioned with the context of their work although they felt their task was important for the development of the country. They believed that they were "under-rated", "oppressed" and consigned to a profession that was neglected as it was epitomized by "poor remuneration" and the steady "devaluation" it was facing. This, teachers contended, has made the profession unattractive not only to their students but even parents, including those who have never gone to school. The economic, social, and political context - local, national, and global in which a teacher found him/herself working and living led to impoverishment. Although the misery of teachers seemed to vary according to geographical location of the work place in terms of regions, urban or rural, depending on the economic income/status level of the parents whose children attended such a school, a teacher's life remains economically difficult compared to any other profession in Uganda. It consequently made a teacher's place of work so problematic, and profoundly impacted on the quality of life outside it. In the case of majority teachers in Ugandan schools, the impact has been negative. Schools seemed to drain teachers dry of their energy; nothing much of teachers' lives and selves was left because the workplace did not have the capacity to enrich and energize their lives in terms of generating personal enjoyment and fulfillment.

(ii) Learning to become a teacher: This study has demonstrated that teachers professional identity is shaped by a wide range of complex issues centered on teachers' work and their lives. What was taught in teacher training institutions did not necessarily transform the majority of the practicing teachers into the desired teachers since they continued to believe that teachers were "naturally" born, rather than made in teacher education institutions. According to the views of teacher participants, teacher education has had less impact on their teaching activity. The influence of the old teachers on their former students seemed to have a significant influence on the method of work of many teachers who oriented the teaching styles to that of their old teachers. It therefore holds that if the methods of the old teacher were inappropriate and inadequate, they were nevertheless liable to be transmitted and reproduced in the future generation of teachers. Teachers tended to identify themselves with low esteem, prestige, respect and low economic well being in society. All these undermined their work environment to participate effectively in preparing citizens who can contribute to national development. Teacher education programs were held in disrepute as inadequate. If anything, the programs mainly reinforced the attitudes and practices that were acquired through observing their own teachers in their schooling prior to admission to teacher education institutions. Some female teachers viewed teaching as a good profession suitable for females. They contended that it kept them decent and allowed them more free time to care for their children than the case would have been with other professions.

(iii) Participation in professional associations: Evidence from teachers' experiences revealed that there were no viable professional organizations in which they participated. The fact that teachers did not identify themselves with any professional bodies or associations placed them in a disempowered position. Teachers were characterized by a lack of collectivity and solidarity as a people with a common cause in their profession. This inhibited the opportunity to develop a transformative ideology and practice among teachers. They found little source of encouragement to consciously lessen the reproductive role they assumed within the schooling process by encouraging critical consciousness and creative work among their students. Only by critically reflecting on their own roles in the schooling process, theorizing what could be done, and working to promote specific changes consistent with a broad vision of a just society, can teachers expand and realize their capacity to challenge the status quo in ways that are transformative rather than merely seeking individual solutions to social problems.

8.2.2. Life in schools

(i) Teachers' views on school climate: The evidence from the field pointed out that schools, far from being democratic institutions, were organized based on an authoritarian technocratic model, with little regard for democratic participation of students, teachers and the administration as a whole. A blend of hegemony and direct coercion were a common feature that characterized the method of work in most schools. Findings revealed that rather than schools empowering the powerless and transforming existing social inequalities and injustices, students from poorer backgrounds whose families were deprived of basic needs, were instead treated with little dignity and compassion by the majority of teachers who acted with limited sensitivity and understanding of poverty and the plight of its victims. Without a commitment to social transformation and solidarity with the subordinate and marginalized groups, some teachers regarded such students as behaving like "animals", "unclean" and "unattractive". Teachers often resorted to stricter disciplinary measures in dealing with such students based on misdiagnosis of the situation. This reduced schools into authoritarian institutions characterized by structural violence. The claim that school was relaxing and at the same time liberating did not feature in the findings as part of the reality experienced by the majority of the students. If anything, majority of the students studied under fear, peacelessness, and lack of compassion and solidarity with most of the teachers and the school administration.

Teachers viewed democracy in terms of students "electing" their own leaders but not engaging in formulating the rules to follow in the elections. Classroom dynamics revealed that teachers professed democratic beliefs which in practice were often non-existent. "Silence" in the school setting was explained by administrators to mean discipline. Such a culture of silence reflect, in reality, undemocratic and authoritarian management styles driving students' and even teachers' voices into silence. In sum, the study found that teachers generally lived in school environments based on asymmetrical power relations with little genuine participation of students and teachers in the organization of the school.

(ii) Violence: One of the common methods of disciplining students used by teachers is violence. Caning, maiming and flogging was practiced by some teachers and its notoriety had precipitated a national debate. Such levels of physical violence did not promote a culture of democracy where participation of all stakeholders was valued as a cardinal foundation towards preparing citizens who value and practice democratic principles and respect for the rights of all human beings. This culture of violence has established a myth among parents and students themselves that caning is a "necessary" disciplinary measure for any child to develop into a responsible citizen. A violation of a human right is viewed as a disciplinary measure and a necessity for one's liberation and development into a dignified human being. However, many dissenting voices emerged in the press and local newspapers challenging the humiliating and inhuman act of exercising violence in the name of discipline. The call to abolish such violence was not only for children who go to school but even those out of school, and all Ugandans.

(iii) Patriarchy: In the study, patriarchy was seen to be a dominant perspective in school life. Patriarchy is reinforced by cultural beliefs and practices that were supportive of its existence in the school setting. The culturally supported view that "a man is a man" sent signals that a woman had to be assigned an inferior position in society and this also was mirrored in the school curriculum - both in the hidden and the formal. Evidence shows that female students were marginalized and repressed both directly and indirectly in the school setting. It was further revealed that both female teachers and male teachers had imbibed a patriarchal perspective that constantly positioned a female student in an inferior position in relation to a male student. It was epitomized in situations where male students were encouraged to be more aggressive, self-assertive and self-reliant while female students were channeled into subservient, and dependent attitudes. This undermined the aspirations of building a society based on the equality of sexes where human beings respected and appreciated each other faithfully. In some instances, reported sexual harassment and defilement were inflicted mainly on female students by male students and male teachers. "Custom" expected female students to preserve their integrity by not disclosing such "private" issues about themselves. The claim that exposing sexual harassment would only tarnish the image of such a female victim is supportive of a culture of silence that is at the service of a repressive patriarchal hegemony.

(iv) Achievement stereotyping: This study found this phenomenon to be common among teachers who believed that male students have a monopoly of certain talents like in Science and Mathematics. The view that female teachers would be role models to female students in the present state schooling functions needs to be critically re-examined. This study revealed that female and male teachers shared similar beliefs, attitudes and practices that were inimical to the emancipation of female students from the patriarchal orientation which dominated school life. Views like, "you cannot compete with men", and "remember she is an African woman" from female teachers send messages that demand certain behaviors which do not necessarily promote self-determination and self-reliance among female students that are prepared to gain a voice and engage in struggles against injustices imposed on them by social, economic, cultural and institutional structures in the education system.

(v) Injustice: This emerged as a sub-theme in the findings as the backbone of inequalities and oppression of the silenced majority poor students who attended school, which from the outset, delegitimized their culture. Where culture happens to be included, it is usually negatively projected. Teachers who have been socialized into elitist education, values, beliefs, and orientations lacked compassion and consideration for students who hailed from poor families. They lacked the commitment to struggle with the marginalized and oppressed. Instead, they consciously and unconsciously increased the suffering of students from poor backgrounds. Due to this lack of compassion, students were further disempowered in the school system rather than find places for liberation. Lack of compassion was partly attributed to teacher education programs that did not seem to make provision for student teachers to develop such skills and attitudes that identify them with the poor masses and the marginalized in a transformative and empowering way. Instead, teachers viewed themselves as part of a civilizing mission that was being frustrated students who were little like "animals" but only distinguished from animals by wearing clothes.

(vi) Pedagogical orientations: The pedagogical practices that were employed in disseminating the curriculum content, classroom strategies and techniques, and evaluation, purposes and methods in the school setting were divorced from a critical alternative paradigm of teaching. Pedagogy was heavily slanted to the transmission or banking model of teaching. The findings revealed that school cultures tended to demand in-coming teachers to forget the theories of teaching practice and to start teaching "realistically." Students also did not like teachers who did not slant their teaching to preparing them 'properly' for excessively competitive examinations. Hence, some students did not hesitate to pressure teachers to do things which they feel will increase their "achievement" levels. It was also expressed by teachers that the contexts in which they operated was very much deprived of facilities that would have been supportive of trying participatory/dialogical methods in their teaching. It was also compounded by the fact that their teacher education programs did not practically expose them to such democratically-oriented methods of teaching. Predominantly, the Freirean methods of work were introduced to the student-teachers in a contradictory manner violating them at the same time when these methods were presented only in lecture form.

(vii) Teachers as "custodians of knowledge": Consistently, teachers were entrenched in the "banking" paradigm of teaching. It was viewed as convenient in their setting where class size was large and particularly where a teacher was viewed as having all the knowledge a student required. However, teachers also felt that it was the method to which they had been exposed as students and as student teachers. The meritocratic examinations also conditioned teachers to employ all survival tactics including "spotting" what is likely to come in forthcoming examinations. Consequently, students expected a teacher to control the class and deliver the curriculum to a captive audience of students who laboriously crammed the information for the examinations. A teacher in this case was the sole source of knowledge which s/he distributed as a custodian distributed items or an encyclopedia has solutions. Within the prevalent structures in the education system of Uganda, a "banking" paradigm of teaching was closely linked to the demands of the meritocratic examinations, although teachers felt that they were not comfortable with alternative pedagogical methods that would be more participatory and democratic in teaching and learning. For teachers to move to the more dialogical/participatory methods of teaching that would be more transformative, the examination system and other structures would have simultaneously to be transformed.

(viii) Collaboration in teaching and departmentalization: It was revealed in the study that collaborative teaching was almost non-existent in Ugandan schools. It was also not imagined since it was expected for a teacher to be accountable for the classes and lessons s/he was in charge of at that particular time as the general time-table dictated. This compartmentalization of subjects in discrete blocks of time isolated subject areas and teachers, abstracted knowledge from its cultural roots and political consequences, and decontextualized knowledge and skills from their practical experience. Departments were viewed as islands having nothing to do with each other. This undermined the development of a holistic understanding of the interconnectedness of subjects in forming a body of knowledge and its ultimate utility as a whole in responding to societal issues and problems.

(ix) Meritocracy: Regarding merit, it was found out that excessive competition in an examination-dominated curriculum left many values of compassion, justice and sharing less realized among students. In large part, the meritocratic-drive that characterized Ugandan schools was viewed as merely legitimating the privilege of the students from affluent backgrounds. The advantage they came with was having money and increased social status which the school system favored most both in the hidden and formal curriculum in terms of elitist cultural values, beliefs, attitudes and practices that received higher rewards.

(x) Participation in curriculum decisions: A desire for more participation in curriculum decisions was manifested by teacher participants. In their view, teachers should be active in formulating and developing the curriculum they taught. They felt that currently, their participation was grossly unrepresentantive. Teachers were also of the view that the curriculum was irrelevant and in implementing it, they appealed to the students and in some cases found themselves imposing it on them. Hence, the teachers' dilemma is that one of assuring the students everyday that what they are learning is meaningful and useful for life though the teachers at the same time seemed to have little faith in what they were teaching. Teachers perceived little opportunity for providing genuine education which depends on just and compassionate circumstances and active student participation. The institutional constraints of schooling and outside social conditions, therefore, combined to hinder teachers in the realization of their goals. The curriculum decision making process was viewed as top-down, which did not subscribe to democratic participation in its inception on the part of teachers. Although teachers appeared not to show direct resistance to the technocrats who planned the curriculum, resistance to it took various subtle forms in the process of its implementation.

(xi) Hegemony as school administration: The study revealed that teachers act as agents of an oppressive schooling process and at the same time teachers are oppressed workers within a bureaucratized organization of the schools. Both the oppressive role of teaching and the fact that teachers are bureaucratically oppressed are linked in a complex way. In this hegemonic process teachers were basically engaged in the reproductive work in the schools. This entailed a good deal of disciplining, disempowering, and sorting students without realizing that they were overworked and underpaid to accomplish such a status quo oriented task. Head-teachers thrived on a culture of silence and patronage with little regard for genuine participation of teachers in the daily running of the school. Staff meetings were characterized by top-down briefings and silence of the majority of teachers who felt subdued by a combination of personal, societal and institutional conditions into subservience, submissiveness and powerlessness. The few who were critical of the status quo were viewed as trouble makers inciting those living under the culture of silence. The majority of the respondents felt that there were very limited values of participatory democracy, transparency and accountability practiced in the schools. Authoritarianism characterized the daily methods of work.

8.2.3. School and community

(i) Community Service Scheme (CSS): The underlying assumptions that characterized school and community interactions outlined as government policy in the White Paper were based on modernization assumptions whereby the school was expected to go to the community as a development agent to "help" or "assist" the needy. The underpinning assumption was of the experts from schools going to "civilize" the backward community. The view that people who are in institutions like schools or NGOs should go to help the poor may not necessarily, be the appropriate strategy for community development. This should not be taken to infer that people in the community do not need any help. Rather, it should be viewed in terms of compassion and solidarity aimed at facilitating the other individual or community to gain control of their destiny by becoming empowered, simultaneously students should also be able to learn from members in the community. The aim should be to make the school and the community collaborative partners in development and knowledge production/application rather than establishing paternalistic relations of subordination and dependency.

(ii) School-community interaction: The students and teachers did not use the resources of the community as the core of the curriculum, relating the major content of the curriculum to what was happening or could be studied by visiting the community. The purpose of the school was not being directed to the needs of children and the adults of the community by serving as a community center or a place for adult education, recreation, and a focal point for the community. It remained as an isolated enclave of transplanted "civilization" without being organically integrated in the community. Teachers and students were not full participating members of the community, nor did they engage in any projects of community development. Depending on the assumptions, beliefs and attitudes on which the relationship between school and community is constructed, the products are likely to have views, beliefs and attitudes that will marginalize and victimize the poor majority instead of expressing empathy, compassion for, and solidarity with such poor people in their struggle for human rights and survival.

(iii) Culture: The effort of making the relationship between school and community mutual and more meaningful lacked a paradigmatic orientation that valued indigenous cultures as authentic and legitimate ingredients for a people-centered development process rather than categorizing them as "primitive" or "backward". The schools and teachers seemed to play a minimal role in helping to maintain and develop indigenous cultures. The local people were not viewed as a reservoir of folk wisdom to be drawn upon. It was claimed by teachers that the time-table could not allow such involvement and participation of members of the community. Some respondents believed that since parents lacked the official English language to communicate their views, it remained difficult to involve them even if time allowed. Could it be that students would not wish to go back to the rural areas because in educating them such communities are not integrated in the process of their education as contributors of knowledge that is relevant and grounded in the real lived world? The introduction of, and the ultimate survival of, indigenous cultures in the school setting will depend on the paradigmatic orientation of those who are in charge of the education enterprise, namely, the teachers, school administrator, and policy makers. The current structures are practically unsupportive of the long run survival of indigenous and local cultures which are rarely given space in the school formal and informal curriculum (e.g., in games). Moreover, whenever they are featured in the curriculum, they tend to be marginalized and negatively projected.

(iv) Preservice/inservice and community development: This study consistently pointed to the conclusion that teachers did not develop the initiative and orientation to consider values that would have enhanced participation at grass-roots and in the schools they teach. Teacher participants believed that it was for this reason they were not in a position to facilitate the empowerment of individuals and groups that have been largely silenced. Similarly, they were not in a position to create new ways of linking the real world and social problems with school so that the school becomes integrally connected to the experiences of the people in their daily lives in the community. Teachers contended that values and attitudes derived from the affective domain tended to be marginalized in the main teacher education preparation process that should have taken into account the lived realities of a teacher in the real world of teaching in school in relationship to the community. Some teacher educators believed that it was not the responsibility of the schools to engage in community development. Other teacher educators felt "cheated" to be asked questions concerning school community relationship.

(v) Vocationalization: Limited resources was viewed by participants as the main reason why the education system was insensitive to the challenges of the day. The tendency to consider financial resources as a panacea to problems of South nations was inherent in the beliefs of participants that vocational education was very expensive compared to academic education. The view that vocational education and other science subjects cannot be taught inexpensively reflects a modernization paradigmatic orientation that for any education to be good, it must be expensive as endorsed by the Gonansa report (1994). It also implied that the education in the schools ranked as the "best schools" was good in itself for those students and indeed for national development. From a critical paradigm perspective, crucial as they may be for any education system, funds are not an end in themselves to make an education relevant, practical and appropriate to the needs of society. To assume that funds will eliminate all the problems in the system is an attitude and belief that is slanted to perpetuating dependency on donors for vocational education to become a reality. However, some respondents expressed the belief that vocationalization lacked the necessary "good will" from policy makers particularly so since their own children rarely attended it. It was considered an education for the poor which led to poor remuneration, low prestige and status, and unattractive work environment.

8.2.4. Education and development

(i) Conceptualizing societal development: The majority view from participants contended that development could be achieved through the unilinear path of modernization in terms of massive industrialization, agricultural mechanization, heavy capital, and human capital development. It was also associated with a high standard of living of the people. Almost none viewed development in terms of peoples' participation, equality, appropriate, adaptable and/or relevant technology/education, critical awareness or conscientization of the people and environmental care. Rather, lack of development was associated with lack of skills to "exploit" the rich natural resources.

(ii) Destitution: Furthermore, a majority of the respondents advanced a modernization view of blaming the victims of development . They believed that the genesis of poverty was ignorance, illiteracy, polygamy and many children, traditional/subsistence agriculture that was insensitive to change towards modern agriculture; lack of advice on the part of the poor people; poor planning and "laziness". A minority view, however, held a critical perspective that believed that the poor were largely objects of exploitation by the rich and subject to various phenomena of structural violence that benefited elite minorities.

(iii) Authoritarianism: traditional or colonial legacy? The study revealed that a legacy of both colonial and traditional inheritance combined to exaggerate the authoritarian tendencies in the educational institutions and in the Ugandan society. The prevailing school climate and society did not favor critical thinking that would lead to empowerment and the promotion of values of equality, justice and human dignity for all citizens. Critical thinking would pose a challenge to the status quo dependent on asymmetrical power relations in the generation and legitimation of knowledge. It was considered necessary, therefore, to have people supportive in the education system, particularly in administrative positions who themselves have cultivated faith in the value of a teacher as a transformative intellectual. It would only be then a teacher who is critical in his/her thinking would operate in the school setting with limited risk of being harassed and transferred to another school as a 'disciplinary' measure for his/her critical stance.

(iv) Aid: solidarity and partnership: The majority of participants expressed dissatisfaction with aid because of the conditionalities that tend to marginalize the participation of the recipient, albeit they felt that it was an "inevitable evil" for the sustenance of the education system and other development programs already dependent on it. However, the majority of the respondents viewed aid as unproblematic, neutral, value-free, and very helpful and developmental in a typical modernization perspective, disregarding the strings that tie aid to Uganda's national independence. The respondents did not go beyond aid as technical/financial transfers to analyze aid in terms of cultural, political and economic domination and imperialism. Nonetheless, aid depicted a complex scenario in its multifaceted forms. The participants disclosed that much as manipulation, exploitation, and dependence accompanied most aid packages, there has been inability on the part of the Ugandans to effectively and responsibly care for national interests in projects partly because of incompetence in matching their expatriate counterparts and partly due to vested interests.

When examining the agenda targeted at foreign aid, one wonders where, indeed, the self-reliance alluded to in several policy documents including the White Paper will emanate from. If all the key projects and bodies are foreign aid-driven the survival and sustainability of such bodies and projects is questionable if this external component were to be excluded or terminated. It therefore merits skepticism whether these laudable statements about self-reliance will stand the test of time considering that the viability of most current projects and programs in the present and near future may continue to lean heavily on foreign aid, whose mission itself may be inimical to the expected values of building self-reliance based on solidarity and partnership. In sum, how is the government adhering to the policy of soliciting and utilizing foreign resources for education in such a way that the functioning of the educational system achieves the set national goals and objectives of achieving self-reliance?

Nevertheless, some foreign aid has some potential of building solidarity and partnerships for Ugandan teachers. For instance, UTA has received aid from organizations to which it is affiliated like the Swedish Teachers' Organizations . Depending on how such aid is utilized, it could form ripples of empowerment among Ugandan teachers prepared to reflect and transform their lives professionally if they were provided inservice programs based on the critical transformative paradigm. Projects like TDMS supported by USAID and World Bank, and INSSTEP supported by ODA could also be oriented to values and practices that promote solidarity and partnership as conscious strategies at every stage of planning and implementation of the project rather than "experts", whether local or foreign, assuming that they are missionaries on a civilizing mission.

(v) Intellectual community: The intellectual community was held by most participants in disrepute as unable to articulate national problems in a people-centered orientation. Society is seen as characterized by intellectual inertia which was attributed in turn to the nature of the examination conditioned education system that did not cultivate curiosity and a sustainable search for knowledge and solutions to problematic and challenging situations. There was expressed concern that the majority of the research was slanted towards foreign interests because of the funding component which tended to decontextualize it and rendered it less relevant, appropriate and adaptable to the immediate problems of the Ugandan setting. However, this is not to infer that all external research is irrelevant. As externally-motivated research may be irrelevant to the needs of Uganda, "insiders" research even funded by the Uganda government too equally can be irrelevant and elitist-centered. The relevance of research, therefore, depends on a researcher's attitudes, beliefs, and practices as a result of his/her socialization in terms of paradigmatic orientation to developmental issues and problems.

(vi) National integration and Unity: Language and development are inseparable. The fate of indigenous languages of Uganda remained questionable in terms of their survival. The view held by those who participate in the debate seems to regard local languages as a setback to national integration and modernization. Yet, the subsistence economy which remains the backbone of the national economy sustained by the masses produce using the same languages elites consider to be a setback to national unity and development. It is tempting to ask: if all Ugandans spoke English would Uganda experience less strife and underdevelopment than the country faces as of now? Would it not be blaming the victims of elitist manipulation of divide and rule techniques to assume that conflicts, past and present in Uganda have been orchestrated by the "illiterate masses" who lack the English to dialogue with other Ugandans from different ends of the country to the extent that they find themselves simply rising in arms? The issues of national unity and integration are complex and therefore can not simply be reduced into linguistic equations that if you substitute all the languages of Uganda with English, unity and tranquility shall reign. How have the most educated who are proficient in the English language contributed to national unity in a manner that those who do not speak English have not? Could a bilingual policy be a prudent strategy to tackle the issue?

(vii) Relevance and quality of the distributed education: Teachers were of the view that although the education was in large part irrelevant to the development needs of the country, this irrelevant education did not reflect that it was democratically distributed to the citizens equally. Some citizens received the best quality of the irrelevant education as cultural capital to legitimize their privileges while those who lacked it were taught to accept their failure as their fault for not working hard to be included among the victors. As part of the contemporary reality teachers face as the primary agents in the system, they are condemned to administer this inequality, some grudgingly and others unconsciously. Depending on a teacher's paradigmatic orientation, it is one thing for him/her to recognize, from repeated exposure, that educational services for the poor tend to be inadequate, chaotic, and disheartening and it is another thing to understand that this is not an accidental, isolated situation, but that almost everywhere in Uganda this kind of education is received by those who have no economic options, some painfully "under trees". National structures operating under a modernization paradigm have offered only a minimum education to children of the poor and made available its least reliable and least consistent services to them as people it has come to view as its least valuable human beings. Put this way, the inequalities are not accidental but are guided by policies both at planning and implementation levels within a set of values, beliefs and attitudes that fall under a particular paradigm.

(viii) Building a just and peaceful society: Evidence also revealed that teachers were not in a position to effectively contribute towards building a just and peaceful society at their places of work in schools and the wider society. They felt that the structures in which they served and the curriculum they implemented was not based on values of peace and justice. Instead, social inequalities and discrimination against the poor and demanding silence from students in order to deliver an irrelevant curriculum was part of a teacher's preoccupation. The justification teachers gave is that it is the same curriculum the teacher was taught. Schools lacked compassion, love and solidarity for the students who are the future adult generation. The study did not find that teachers were engaged in conscious processes of building a democratic, just and peaceful society.

8.3. Policy implications

From the foregoing conclusions, it is possible to make some recommendations, consistent with the critical/transformative paradigm. Uganda has not been able to evolve her own philosophy of education. Eclecticism seems to have been the fashion both in colonial and post colonial eras, stressing that education should foster a sense of unity, patriotism and belonging in young people. What is needed is how to realize these cherished goals through education. This requires the examination of both indigenous cultures and beyond Ugandan frontiers in order to weave a synthesis that transcends its negative past but recognizing its strong strands as a foundation to leap forward as we prepare our selves for the millennium. This will create a cultural configuration made of indigenous and foreign values which specifically takes into consideration relevance and the unique needs of the people of Uganda as part of the international community. It is prudent to note that philosophical ideas do not operate in a vacuum but in a given context.

It is true that the White paper on "Education for National Integration and Development" discusses the aims of education at various levels quite elaborately. However, how these aims are to be translated into action does not receive the balanced treatment it deserves. The document often remains a statement of platitudes and pious hopes. The reality of the situation demands that a major thrust be made for adapting and bringing about innovations in the curriculum and pedagogy to meet the developmental needs of the country.

Although new knowledge, new understandings and new theories of teaching may force a re-examination and a reformation of teaching reality, unless constructions from past experience and ingrained habits of thinking are continually articulated and open to discussion and examination, teacher training institutions are less likely to have significant impact on teaching activity in school setting.

From the findings, not only male teachers were insensitive to stereotyping and discrimination against female students. Female teachers who are taken for granted as role models to the female students instead created circumstances that were supportive of the patriarchal model whereby male supremacy was endorsed by the belief that African women should not act in certain stereotyped ways. Although statements pronouncing equality of opportunity seem to be guiding government policy, in practice where it has been tried it remains viewed in public eyes as a token to the "girls", more or less as a favor of special consideration. Schools in Uganda should therefore consider adopting a non-sexist curriculum, textbooks, and other educational materials that can prepare citizens who realize that human beings should abandon the various intricate ways in which they dominate each other and cooperate in ways in which all humans can flourish. For this to happen, schools and teacher education institutions should be at the forefront in creating a society free from sex stereotyping and sexual domination. As a precondition, the people who wish to change other peoples' social practices are advised to simultaneously change themselves. The structures and practices that disadvantaged females need to be reformed. Curriculum and resource materials need to reflect females positively. Teachers need to be sensitive and consciously aware of these inequalities and their causes and how to avoid them so that they are not perpetuated. The language, course content, and school atmosphere need to be modified to deliver meanings that are not biased against female students. There is need for over all societal change for the inequalities to be tackled.

Administrators, policy makers, and teachers need to develop democratic attitudes and a willingness to work with those they even consider to be their personal 'enemies' as long as these people are contributing to the well being of the institution. Those in leadership positions should not institutionalize themselves by subordinating the interests of the institution to their own. From the findings, voices pointed out that most headteachers demand subservience from the teachers, and the overall lack of accountability and transparency (Gonahasa report, 1994). It appears from the study that not all professors or teachers who may leave their various institutions do so only because of economic reasons in search of "greener pastures". Among others, some leave because of sheer frustration engineered at their places of work or political harassment because of being critical to a system or the views of their superior colleagues/bosses. There is a need, therefore, to create spaces and spheres that promote genuine democracy through employing peaceful means of conflict resolution and other more tolerant means guided by the transformative paradigm.

The community should be drawn upon as a reservoir of folk wisdom and the necessary cultural base to build the foundation of any enduring indigenized, adaptable and appropriate knowledge that schools would be able to generate. Furthermore, there is a need for genuine collaboration between the school and the community in areas of environmental conservation and other aspects that would contribute to sustainable development. This calls for a respect of values, skills, and knowledge the community is able to generate and integrate in the school setting without relegating it to the periphery.

Many well intentioned statements made to evolve indigenized patterns of curriculum geared toward national integration have been frustrated at two levels: the infrastructure to translate the intentions into actions appear to be missing, and where it is apparently available, indifference and/or even open hostility create bottlenecks in their smooth implementation. In some cases, political considerations have outweighed educational ones keeping the latter on the shelf. However well meaning a policy may be in its intentions and conception, when it lacks the good will of the policy makers, its success is highly doubted. A case in point is the fate of Kiswahili and the vocational subjects in the curriculum. Respondents consistently believed that policy makers lacked the necessary commitment and interest to support such policies. It is hoped that their implementation will not be overran by yet another commission and a White Paper.

Although a poor country like Uganda still needs to rely on foreign assistance for education development needs, there is a serious lack of a culture of improvisation within the school setting which promotes almost total dependency on imported materials and equipment. Teachers seemed to have little capacity or effort to adapt and appropriately modify resources to make them relevant and sustainable in the local setting. It was for this lack of ingenuity, creativity and innovation that every problem was reduced into monetary equations. Both teachers and policy makers would not hesitate saying, "it won't be possible unless we get a donor to come and help us" which is merely promoting a culture of dependency. It is not a part of development wisdom to be importing things like litmus papers in laboratories of science instead of improvising. There is also a need to overcome the attitude that in the name of comparative advantage, it is less expensive to buy some of these things than making them yourself.

School teachers should be co-opted to teach at the School of Education and teacher education institutions for short periods and even better, exchange teaching positions with teacher educators. This does not only give tutors opportunity to test out and demonstrate the usefulness of the ideas they promote, but can also speak to their own students with a higher degree of credibility about schools and pupils. At the same time, student teachers would benefit directly from the experience of classroom teachers. In any event, such teachers would then be in a position to influence the content and style of teacher education courses. At the same time such practicing teachers would come to understand the rationale and content of the School of Education or any other teacher education program.

The study also clearly underlines the urgent need for inservice programs. Teachers currently do not have access to inservice opportunities. But the kind of inservice programs merits serious consideration because if it is conceived within the current structures, values, attitudes, and paradigmatic orientations whose inclination is the transmission model, it will be merely reinforcing the technocratic, undemocratic and non-participatory strategies of teaching which would yet fail to prepare the desired citizen. Inservice therefore should include aspects of organizing at grassroots of village projects which embrace conscientization principles; non-formal programs which show how education can be so directly relevant to the people-centered development; and programs based on intercultural solidarity and close linkages with ethnic communities. Inservice should be conceived in terms of programs which will heighten levels of teachers' critical thinking leading to reflection and self-empowerment. It is when teachers are empowered themselves that they can empower their students. This would be a positive step in the rightful direction if authentic structural transformations successfully occurred in the wider political, economic and social systems. Such system would provide a supportive environment for a more participatory education to contribute to authentic people-centered development. Within the Ministry of Education and Sports or related units there should be an officer for inservice education. It also calls for adequate resource allocation equitably distributed in relation to the holistic development of the education system.

There should be general improvement of overall conditions of service for teachers if they are to contribute to the transformation of education in Uganda. But since beliefs, attitudes and values in themselves will not produce and sustain a functional transformative intellectual in a vacuum, structures must be supportive by actively promoting fairness, justice and equality.

There is a need for teachers to belong to professional organizations to assert their cause with the purpose of increasing levels of genuine participation, justice, respect and professional integrity for the collective contribution of all teachers. However, such organizations should not yet become another means and form of (re)producing control mechanisms instrumental to those in power to demand subservience, passivity, docility and their likes from the teachers but should enhance their professional growth. The failure of the leadership to chart a clear vision of the future of UTA, coupled with the sustained past governments actions over the years to weaken it as much as possible, have combined to reduce its influence as a body representing teachers' interests in Uganda. Although UTA may continue to exist as an interest group, its significance and influence might continue to diminish.

Finally, what is needed is an approach that stresses not only transformation of the educational system but also of society - the political, social and economic structures in which the education system operates. It is impossible to change society through education alone. Reforms in educational policy must go together with reforms in other sectors of society if justice and equality are to be achieved within a genuine democratic society.

8.4. Theoretical reflections

This study has made some contributions to the body of knowledge that is presently available in the discipline of international/intercultural education, with particular reference to the corollary field of teacher education. It has demonstrated that teachers in Uganda as primary agents of the school system, are operating in structures that influence their work and their lives in a complex way. Schooling takes place in a social, political, economic and cultural setting which to a great extent conditions how learning is organized. Whereas in theory the policy statements advocate principles of equality and participation, to reduce the gap between the rewards attached to intellectual and manual work, and to develop ties with their communities, schools in practice are dominated by technical managerial perspectives of education in terms of "standards", "achievement-oriented", meritocratic", streaming", academic mastery and individual achievement rather than collective effort. In doing so, the signals it sends to the students, parents and teachers are that the economic growth oriented development under the modernization paradigm requires more skills than it required participation and equality. In such a situation, how does a teacher caught up within such structural contradictions contribute meaningfully to national development? The study lends further empirical support to theorizing of analysts such as Carnoy and Samoff (1990) who argue that societal transformation would require a committed and consistent shift from the current practices and orientations in terms of school organization and learning processes. Nevertheless, this requires the kind of development strategy and the political will and determination to implement it, which most political leaders in Third World countries have not been prepared to demonstrate, at least, up to this point in time (Bacchus, 1988; Yeakey, 1981). In large part, the study has demonstrated that the way education is organized and distributed serves to entrench social differentiation of people into class and status groups with varying access to income, wealth, privilege and power in the Ugandan society. From the point of view of its accessibility to and retentivity of students, the education system is biased in terms of class and, to some extent, ethnicity. Although ostensibly selective on the basis of merit, the system is strongly biased against the lower classes, the rural population and the poor majority. This is attributed to the education system's nature that is unreconstructedly conservative because the bureaucrats who are its guardians are at the same time its most successful products. It is evident from the findings that discrimination among children based on sex in the distribution of educational opportunity has marginalized the female child in Ugandan schools and society. Available literature from other South contexts corroborate this finding (Ashby, 1985; Brown, 1984; Eliou, 1976; Biraimah, 1982). There were evident regional imbalances which geographically placed ethnic groups inhabiting them in a deprived and impoverished position which was also reflected in the kind of inferior education they received, some children sitting "under trees" and writing from their laps. This was not a healthy development in the long run as far as national unity and social justice for a peaceful nation was concerned (Kumar-D Sausa, 1976; Van der Berghe, 1978; Coles, 1981). How such injustices can be overcome remains a challenging question for the present and the future.

The current education provided to Ugandan citizens seemed to be relevant only to the needs of a very limited minority elites in the country. Hence, it left the majority who acquired it unemployed or malemployed, frustrated and alienated. The "diploma disease" was a real and felt problem the country faced, with very limited possibilities of averting it in the near future. In spite of this, the same academic-oriented education has continued to be the main duty of teachers to distribute in mechanically-organized classrooms. This has generated the "credential inflation" syndrome which is supported by an excessively competitive examination system. The view that education alone has an answer to such development problems without the concerted efforts of the various structures in society is likely to remain an illusive prescription (Dore, 1976; Oxenham, 1984; Bacchus, 1988; Carnoy, 1982). The view that the present elitist education offered to the majority of children alienated them from their social natural conditions featured prominently in the findings. Even if non-formal education was to be explored, which indeed it should urgently be, still it would require transforming the structures that might militate against its potential positive impact (Wald, 1978). This would include rethinking the reward system and examination processes, values and assumptions that underpin teaching and learning in the present system of education.

Although the problem of the brain drain has mainly thrived on the nature of the present education offered in Uganda, many other factors have also aggravated it. Uganda has faced political upheavals which have militarized and precipitated violence in the country. This in the past decades led partly to the external brain drain. Nevertheless, there is also what may be referred to as internal brain drain where for instance dissatisfied teachers with their inadequate remuneration continue to leave teaching for other "greener pastures" within the country. Much as in the industrialized countries in the North, deprofessionalization and its attendant deskilling and proletarianization of the teaching profession has been induced mainly by technological advancements which have taken over part of a teacher's domain of expertise. It has taken a different trend in Uganda, particularly with the budget cutbacks in education in the globalization era (Samoff,1996). Teachers find it extremely difficult to survive on their meager salaries. Consequently, they have left teaching to those who use it as a stop-over as they seek "better" alternative employment. Those who still persist consider teaching very secondary as it cannot support them economically without relying on something else to supplement the salary. This has further contributed to the erosion of the quality of teaching and education. Teachers have no time to reflect on their work and their lives as they are kept on the run for survival. This is also parallel to views expressed by Bacchus (1996) with regard to the Third World context.

Apart from the internal loss of teaching professionals to other sectors, brain drain has thrived on an education system that seems to be insensitive to local needs and detached from the lived realities of the country, promising dreams which are motivated by values of consumption and affluence which are untenable nor sustainable in the economic realities of Uganda for the majority of human beings. The international call for Education for All by the year 2000 therefore should not be taken wholeheartedly without querying the relevance of its content and its appropriateness to the needs of its recipients. Will it be the distribution of the present type of education to all citizens, and if so, for what purpose, and to what ends? From the evidence adduced in this study, education for all on the model of the educational system currently organized and provided in the social, political and economic structures does not seem to significantly lead to the improvement of the quality of life of the majority of its recipients. It, therefore, calls for more creative thinking and, above all, good-will and commitment that goes beyond policy documents and provide an education that will empower citizens who can participate in authentic people-centered national development.

This study supports Parmar's (1970) conclusion that due to lack of justice in many Third World nations, "many of the struggles even though they take ethnic, tribal, cultural and linguistic forms constitute a part of a quest for equality and human dignity". Similarly, Seers (1977) has noted that "perhaps even more important, since race is highly correlated with income , economic inequality lies at the heart of racial tensions." Uganda has had a big challenge of racism, tribalism and ethnicity permeating structures of national character ever since colonial rule exploited it instrumentally to establish and entrench itself (Karugire, 1980; Mamdani, 1976; Ghai, 1965; Bujra, 1992). For example, the economic position which East Indians had been placed in as middlemen in the economy between the Africans and the capital centers in the North antagonized them with Africans until it culminated in their expulsion during Amin's despotic rule. The departure of the East Indian population did not mean that the structures which sustained inequalities in income distribution and exploitation of the masses came to a sudden end. If anything, it intensified. To consider education in isolation as a panacea to national integration in Uganda would seem to be oblivious to the underlying realities. While cultural differences or factors influence such ethnic polarization, they are often intimately linked with social, economic and political structures and relationships of the wider society. The current institutions of education tend to reinforce rather than mitigate such societal injustices. Rather than contributing to building a society based on justice and equality of all human beings, education instead declares a minority as victorious while at the same time condemns the majority as failures. The view by politicians/policy makers that victims of meritocratic discrimination should not be declared failures by the public, and that results of the best schools should be concealed so that they do not demoralize the "poorly" performing schools, does not tackle the fundamental strucutures that generate such disparities in performance. The curriculum which discriminates against certain cultures both in direct and indirect or subtle ways seem to be counterproductive as far as nation-building is concerned. All cultures therefore need to be valued equally in the school setting and society as part of the whole that makes the heritage of a country and gives it a national character (Toh and Cawagas, 1989). Society, and in particular, policy makers and teachers who implement these policies in the school setting and classrooms, need to act consistently with values and practices that consider fairness, justice and equality not merely as goals to aspire for. Efforts must be directed practically towards achieving them.

The study explored the theme of aid and the findings were revealing. The view held by Samoff (1996) that most Third World countries' education budgets tend to be dependent on foreign aid came to the fore in policy documents and views of participants, especially policy makers. Nevertheless, the little sensitivity to foreign aid implications on the part of some Ugandan bureaucrats reported by Himbara and Sultan (1995) seemed to hold true for the majority of participants who regarded aid as developmental. I argue that the opposite is occurring. For aid to be meaningful and genuinely developmental, it should be conceived as partnerships for building solidarity. Taking teacher education as an example, aid that is solidarity-oriented would consider outcomes that lead to the empowerment of grassroots movements so that they can shape their own destinies in accordance with their most pressing needs. It also calls for more equal, cooperative efforts between North and South participants directed at meeting the needs of the most disadvantaged peoples of society. In situations that involve scholars from the South studying in the North, consideration would be given to the various alternative models based on cultural identity and geocultural specificity in the programs to which they are exposed (Arnove, 1996; Bacchus, 1992a; Bacchus, 1975; Weiller, 1984). The issues and problems that characterize the realities of Third World countries like Uganda should be infused into the partnerships at their designing stages, including curriculum, pedagogy, and organizational structures so that participants emerge with a better and critical understanding of the problems, and the possible alternative people-oriented solutions. It is relevant to question at the inception of such a partnership which way is such training program in a position to prepare teachers and educators who consider their tasks as empowering and transformative? Participants in the North, particularly advisers to students should be able to ask themselves, for instance, whether a student of engineering from Uganda at the University of Alberta will be more helpful to Ugandans to improve environmental sustainability and local/global justice by insisting that such a student takes a course on ice engineering against his will, a course that focuses on the cold snow region areas. It would be helpful if such students were encouraged to explore ideas, values, skills and methodologies drawn from the dependency/structuralist paradigm so that they can be exposed to principles of conscientization, justice, structural violence, self-reliance and participation. Solidarity also means not being defensive about critiques that appropriately identify the North as part of the problem of the South, whether that influence stems from transnational corporations, official development assistance, trade, aid, or other channels (Toh, 1996; Toh, 1992; Arnove, 1996; Samoff, 1996; New Internationalist, 1996).

Given the complexity of problems and issues in a Third World nation like Uganda's educational underdevelopment and development, what ideas, strategies and practices might be possible in order to optimize education's role to societal transformation? In which ways can a teacher be prepared and supported to play a transformative role in Uganda? Transformation here is conceived in terms of explicit values oriented toward a more equitable, just and peaceful and sustainable society. What could be available alternative theoretical and practical ideas, possibilities, potentialities, and experiments for linking education to this desired societal transformation? These include the influential philosophy of education for empowerment, conscientization, and praxis popularized by the reknowned adult educator, Paulo Freire; the concrete application of conscientization principles in adult and community education; and the limits and possibilities, as well as difficulties, lessons and hopes of turning entire education systems towards transformative goals in society would lead to a just and dignified sustainable development (Freire, 1970; 1976; Toh and Cawagas, 1989; Wald, 1978).

8.5. Methodological reflections

Through qualitative research, this study sought to understand social events from the participants' perspective. As part of the ethics considerations of this study, efforts were made to build solidarity with the participants during the field work and workshop that was organized to conclude the research in Uganda. Follow up contact was also maintained through writing to some of the participants in the study with the view of sustaining a dialogical relationship. Such letters of appreciation and encouragement to teacher participants, it was envisaged, expressed solidarity and would breathe new life to them as subjects rather than treating them as objects in the research process. It is also hoped to create an entry point for future action and collaborative research efforts that are envisioned as a follow up to this study on returning to Uganda.

Nevertheless, for a similar study to be improved, it is suggested that the voice of the researcher should be heard more than it is currently heard in the present study. Although it was viewed enriching to the study to give teachers adequate space to narrate their views and experiences, it could probably have been moderated. Secondly, it would also be prudent to delimit the study further to fewer schools and respondents than the present study has included. This would make the study more handy and more manageable and probably achieve similar conclusions with less data, and in a lesser time than what the present study relied upon.

However, according to the teacher participants, this study provided them an opportunity to reflect on some of their attitudes, beliefs and practices, and for their voices to be listened to for the first time. For the workshop that was held with the teacher participants, it served not only as a source of data for the study but also as an inservice workshop to those teachers, and a moment to come together as teachers from different schools rural and urban to share their views and experiences about their lived reality. For this, teacher participants expressed appreciation for the enriching and reflective experience that was provided by participating in this study.

8.6. Recommendations for further research

This study does not, in any way, claim to be exhaustive nor was it one of its cardinal intents. However, if it could provoke and cause interest among researchers to further investigate the issues it has raised, then, it would have accomplished one of its primary objectives. In light of the findings, it is therefore recommended that consideration for the following aspects for research would be a useful endeavor for the process of national development:

1) Collaborative action research: There is a need to seek opportunities to conduct research in schools and involve practicing teachers as collaborators. From the experience of this study, it has revealed to me that good teachers are also often the ones who maintain a questioning stance towards what and how they teach. Teachers need to know that they can be researchers in their own classrooms or school and community without having to obtain an institutional seal of approval (Hollingworth, 1994; Wallat, et al., 1983; Jenne, 1994). Collaborative action research efforts would not only generate new insights that illuminate theory and research but also empower the collaborating teacher and rejuvenate him or her as an active participant in the process of generating his own knowledge (Dias, 1989). The current contradictory situation of the teacher in the school structures is undermined by a contradictory relation to the curriculum, the learner, and the school organization. Educators need to continuously analyze the paradoxes and contradictions inherent in their relation to the students in the classroom and to the norms that regulate school behavior and to knowledge and society. A more refined analysis of the relationships discussed here through further research should provide the tools for tracing the processes and thus provide a dynamic explanation how education contributes to the transformation or reproduction of a status quo.

2) There is a need to study from a critical alternative perspective the textbooks being used in Ugandan schools. Among the primary objectives would be to establish their paradigmatic orientation; their adequacy in taking care of issues of gender, race, class and cultural values; and their overall potential contribution to developing a citizen committed to social justice and people-centered authentic and sustainable development. Such textbooks analysis however is but complemented by research into the process of use and outcomes involving students and teachers in the dynamics of textbook use.

3) There is a need to carry out a systematic study of the School of Education programs directly. In relation to some of the issues that arose in this study, it would be appropriate to investigate the pedagogical practices of teacher educators, teacher education programs

and the paradigms that inform them. It is hoped that such a study would provide insights that suggesting which direction reforms or transformation should be considered in an effort to create a more liberative environment to prepare teachers who can contribute toward national development.

4) There is a need to conduct a collaborative action research study on school and community relationship in detail, involving teachers and members of the community as collaborative participants. This study has given spaces for teachers' voices to express their views. A similar study involving school and community members therefore would provide original understanding from community members the attitudes and beliefs they hold toward school and community relationship. For instance, how do they see the school participating in the development of the community and vice versa? What expectations do they hold for such a relationship? In which way could the school-community interaction be improved in terms of development based on values of justice and solidarity?

5) There is a need to carry out a study exploring gender context in detail with regard to differences and similarities in the views of male and female teachers' professional identity. Such a study would also investigate whether male and female teachers see educational questions differently as far as issues of development are concerned.

8.7. Conclusion

This study has demonstrated that education takes place in a complex reality. The view that "no education system can be better than the quality of its teachers, nor can a country be better than the quality of its education" is relevant. Equally relevant to the Ugandan situation is the view that neither can teachers be better than the education system that produces them. Their quality need to be viewed not in neutral terms nor in a vacuum. The quality in this case should be viewed in terms of the kind of values, beliefs, and attitudes that underlay the programs and policies that prepare teachers. What are the paradigmatic orientations, worldviews that underpin the process of development of the country, and what strategies are being used to achieve them? What is the role of education in this process in designing and organizing a curriculum, and its pedagogical orientations in preparing the desired citizen to participate in the articulated development process? What kind of a teacher is needed to prepare such a citizen, and how can that teacher be prepared? What is the role of society in this process? Can a teacher alone meet the challenge? There is a need to prepare a teacher under the critical transformative paradigm who will prepare a transformative intellectual citizenry, a teacher who will be in a position to contribute to a better quality education. This education will bring up a generation of future adult citizens empowered to build a democratic compassionate and just society, a generation that will hopefully act more responsibly than we ourselves have been.

Nevertheless, the community and society as a whole should view themselves as equally charged with the responsibility of contributing towards building a just and peaceful society by espousing and practicing attitudes and beliefs consistent with that goal. The task of preparing future adult citizens, therefore, should not be seen as resting on the shoulders of a teacher alone. The contemporary realities which characterize the work place and teacher's lives at present are incongruent with society's expectations from them. As a point of departure, the political, social, and economic structures that should create an environment conducive for a transformation seem to be less promising, locally, nationally and internationally with this wave of globalization. Furthermore, this study has demonstrated that education in itself is not a panacea to development, especially the current dominant type of education that excludes the needs and aspirations of the majority poor. The pronouncements internationally made regarding "Education for All" need to consider the underpinning assumptions of such education if it is going to have any meaningful and lasting impact on the lives of its recipients. It should not be school for school's sake. Currently, globalization seems to be excluding the poor masses in its promised dream of worldwide limitless "progress." Instead, it is marginalizing and dispossessing them on a world scale. The cutbacks in health and education in national budgets do not promise any justice and equitable solution to the structural violence and destitution to which the poor are exposed. All these are challenges with significant impact on education. The reality in which education takes place is complex requiring non-simplistic prescriptions. A holistic approach that genuinely takes into account the multifaceted nature of the teaching and learning/pedagogical activity merits urgent consideration. The genuine participation of all members of society in this endeavor is required at all levels, with effort to redress the ugly inequalities and irrelevancies that characterize the present system of education. It is true that funds are a necessary ingredient in all this effort, including aid. However, without appropriate, relevant attitudes and practices in terms of paradigmatic orientation guiding our actions, will not do much.

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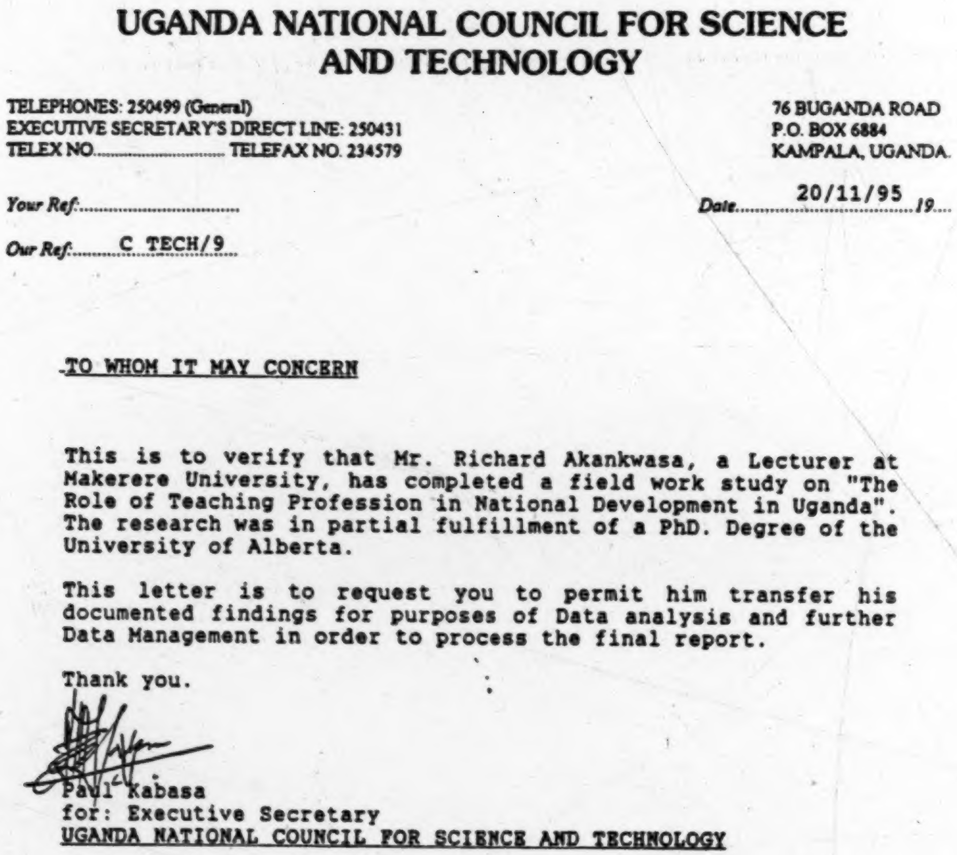
APPENDICES



UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TELEPHONES: 250499 (General)
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S DIRECT LINE: 250431
TELEX NO.............................. TELEFAX NO. 234579

76 BUGANDA ROAD
P.O. BOX 6884
KAMPALA, UGANDA.

Your Ref.................................

Date......20/11/95......*19*....

Our Ref......C TECH/9

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN

This is to verify that Mr. Richard Akankwasa, a Lecturer at Makerere University, has completed a field work study on "The Role of Teaching Profession in National Development in Uganda". The research was in partial fulfillment of a PhD. Degree of the University of Alberta.

This letter is to request you to permit him transfer his documented findings for purposes of Data analysis and further Data Management in order to process the final report.

Thank you.

Paul Kabasa
for: Executive Secretary
UNGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TELEPHONE: 230708

IN ANY CORRESPONDENCE ON
THIS SUBJECT PLEASE QUOTE NO. ADL.38.

THE REPUBLIC OF UGANDA

OFFICE OF THE DEPUTY CENTRAL
GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE
KAMPALA DISTRICT
P.O. BOX 352,
KAMPALA.

5th October, 1995

TO WHOM IT MAY CONCERN:

RE: REASEARCH ON " THE ROLE OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA:

This is to introduce to you Mr. Richard R. Akankwasa who has been granted permission to carry a preliminary reasearch on the subject.

Please accord him the necessary assistance.

Omongole Benjamin
DEPUTY CENTRAL GOVERNMENT REPRESENTATIVE/KAMPALA:

DEPUTY CENTRAL GOVERMENT REPRESETATIVE
KAMPALA DISTRICT
P.O. Box 352 KAMPALA

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TELEPHONES: 250499 (General)
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S DIRECT LINE: 250431
TELEX NO. .... TELEFAX NO. 234579

76 BUGANDA ROAD
P.O. BOX 6884,
KAMPALA, UGANDA

Your Ref ....

Our Ref: SS 905

Date 04th October, 1995.

The District Executive Secretary,
Kabale District,
P. O. Box 5,
KABALE.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE : RESEARCH APPROVAL

This is to introduce Mr. Richard R. Akakwasa ....
who wishes to undertake a research study entitled "THE ROLE OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA" .... in your district.

The study has been approved by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. It awaits clearance from the President's Office, this being in the final stages.

The purpose of this letter is to request you to allow the researcher to conduct the preliminary study which will facilitate the main study research methodology.

Your cooperation in this matter is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

F. Kabasa
for : Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TELEPHONES: 250499 (General)
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S DIRECT LINE: 250431
TELEX NO. .... TELEFAX NO. 234579

76 BUGANDA ROAD
P.O. BOX 6884,
KAMPALA, UGANDA

Your Ref ....

Our Ref: SS 905

Date 4th October, 1995.

The District Executive Secretary,
Ntungamo District,
P. O. NTUNGAMO,
NTUNGAMO.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE : RESEARCH APPROVAL

This is to introduce ...Mr. Richard.R. Akankwasa...

who wishes to undertake a research study entitled "THE ROLE OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA" ... in your district.

The study has been approved by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. It awaits clearance from the President's Office, this being in the final stages.

The purpose of this letter is to request you to allow the researcher to conduct the preliminary study which will facilitate the main study research methodology.

Your cooperation in this matter is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

P. Kabasa
for : Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TELEPHONES: 250499 (General)
EXECUTIVE SECRETARY'S DIRECT LINE: 250431
TELEX NO. .... TELEFAX NO. 234579

76 BUGANDA ROAD
P.O. BOX 6884,
KAMPALA, UGANDA

Your Ref ____________

Date 4th October, 1995

Our Ref: SS 905

The District Executive Secretary,
Rukungiri District,
P. O. Box 1,
RUKUNGIRI.

Dear Sir/Madam,

RE : RESEARCH APPROVAL

This is to introduce ... Mr. Richard R. Akankwasa ....

who wishes to undertake a research study entitled "THE ROLE OF THE TEACHING PROFESSION IN NATIONAL DEVELOPMENT IN UGANDA" .... in your district.

The study has been approved by the Uganda National Council for Science and Technology. It awaits clearance from the President's Office, this being in the final stages.

The purpose of this letter is to request you to allow the researcher to conduct the preliminary study which will facilitate the main study research methodology.

Your cooperation in this matter is much appreciated.

Yours sincerely,

P. Kabasa
for : Executive Secretary
UGANDA NATIONAL COUNCIL FOR SCIENCE AND TECHNOLOGY

TO: Richard Akankwasa, School of Education
c/o Dr. C.F.Odaet, Director, Uganda project

FROM: S.H.Toh

Dear Richard: Warm greetings from Alberta, including staff on the 5th and 7th floors and other graduate friends. We all hope your thesis research is progressing. My apologies for not being able to return your faxed message immediately because of the rush of the commencement of term, a period of illness brough on by the long trip abroad, and preparations for Dr. Bacchus's honorary conference. Regretably you and other project scholars were not able to be here –we had guest speakers like Robert Arnove, Mathew Zachariah, Joel Samoff, and Carlos Torres. However, we are planning to put together the presentaed papers into a monograph which will be useful for Education & Development scholars.

Regarding your suggestion to include NTC graduates in your sample, especially in the rural area schools, I agree that will be an appropriate change in design to take into account the institutional and social realities in Uganda. As you say, the comparison between NTC and Makerere graduates will be very interesting and meaningful for your study.

I presume other than this question that your research plans are proceeding smoothly and fruitfully. I hope you have some time and opportunities to be with your family. I was able to request John Nyambe who had just returned from his own field trip to kindly pick up your timetable. Finally as for the paper you sent me in Australia, I did safely received it and you will shortly be credited with your EDFDN 621 course.

With best wishes from me, Virginia, betsate and all the others, Sincerely

NATIONAL STUDENTS ANTHEM

Chorus:

We young Women and Men of Uganda
Are Marching along the path of Education
Singing and dancing with Joy together
Uniting for a better Uganda.

I

We are the pillars of tomorrow's Uganda
Let's rise now embrace true knowledge
Yielding discipline resourcefulness
To rebuild the great great pearl

II

Parents and teachers and the youths of this nation
Rise with us support our endeavors
Led by God who is the source of life
To uplift our Motherland.

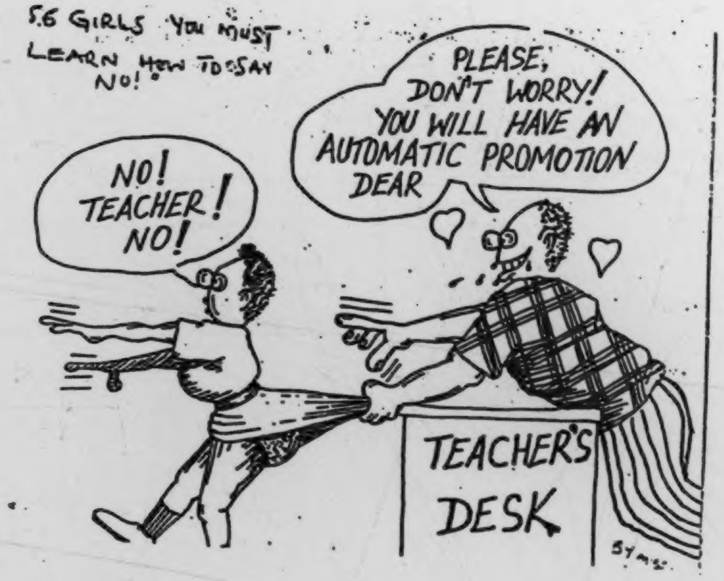
III

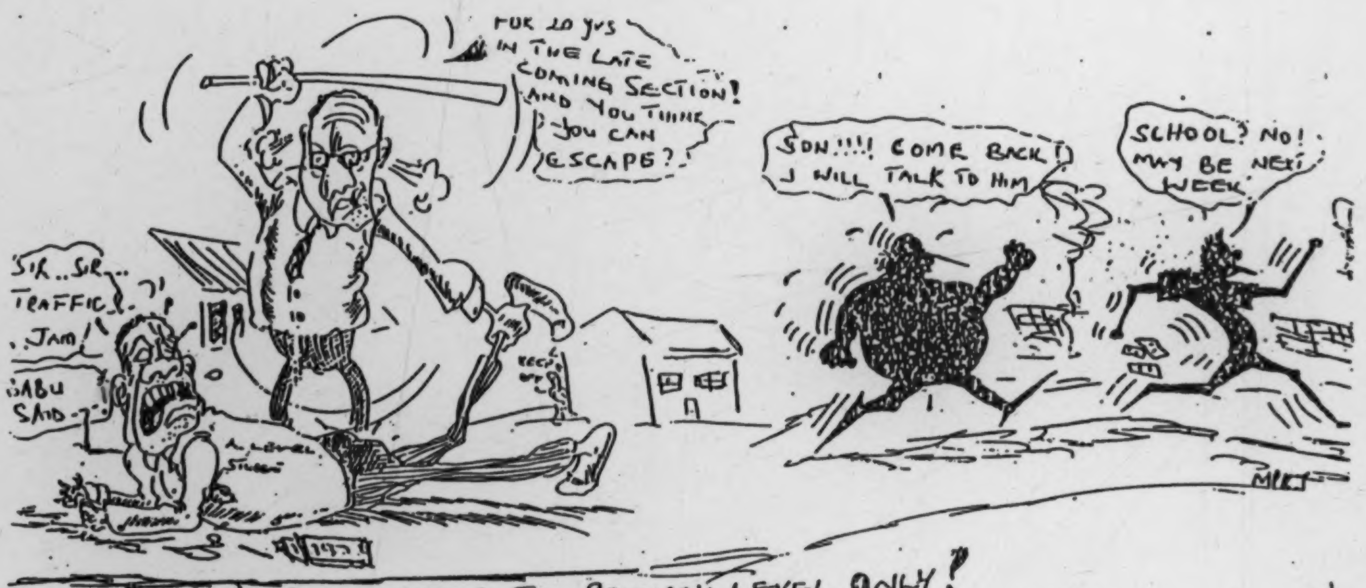
We know the way to the land of enlightenment
has thorns, creepers, valleys and mountains
Come what may we shall overcome for
The glorious times to come.

SCHOOL PRAYER

Look at me Oh God,
As my heart silent all
To you all I turn
For the sins I have committed
I pray to be forgiven
In all that I have been good
I pray to be encouraged
For under your guidance Oh God
Where all is peace I will be led
Not to sob but to rejoice
As my hand in yours lies.

AMEN


S.6 GIRLS YOU MUST LEARN HOW TO SAY NO!
NO! TEACHER! NO!
PLEASE, DON'T WORRY! YOU WILL HAVE AN AUTOMATIC PROMOTION DEAR
TEACHER'S DESK


FOR 20 yrs IN THE LATE COMING SECTION! AND YOU THINK YOU CAN ESCAPE?
SIR.. SIR... TRAFFIC... JAM!
BABU SAID
A LEVEL STUDENT
SON!!!! COME BACK! I WILL TALK TO HIM
SCHOOL? NO! MAY BE NEXT WEEK
MIKI

CANING..., DIDN'T ONLY APPLY TO PRIMARY LEVEL ONLY!
'WOULD YOU LIKE TO SEE FIRE, JUST ARRIVE !

2 MINUTES LATE!. 'U' EITHER SPENDS 1 HOUR ON 'FOLENI" *
NEAR THE GATE AND RUN AROUND THE FIELD
OR

'U' GET CHAI.

Oh big men, big men

Big men are never late, they are delayed.
They are never drunk, they are tired.
They don't lose documents, the documents get misplaced.
They don't borrow money, they organise funds.
They don't over-speed, they cruise.
They don't argue, they discuss.
They don't steal, they misappropriate funds.
They don't play, they do exercises.
They don't eat, they have breakfast, lunch or dinner.
They don't lend money, they give it out.
Big men - Big men
They don't fall in love, they chase women.
They don't joke, they cause laughter.
They don't go to the village, they go up-country.
They don't owe money, they have overdrafts.
They don't sit interviews, they are appointed.
They are not lazy, they relax.
They don't make mistakes, their orders have not been followed.
They don't tell lies, they are misquoted.

●●